

# DE BOW'S REVIEW:

A MONTHLY JOURNAL

OF

Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Internal Improvements,  
Statistics, etc., etc.

ESTABLISHED JANUARY 1, 1846.

---

VOL. XVI.

MARCH, 1854.

No. 3.

---

## Art. I.—MOBILE RIVER AND BAY.

REMARKS ON THE REGULATIONS OF RIVERS IN REFERENCE TO THE MOBILE  
RIVER AND BAY.

EVERY river left to its natural state is subject to alteration, in the direction of its course, as well as the character of its bed, and more particularly when its water flows through a country whose soil is alluvial. When the course of a river is winding, the concave side along which the current exercises the greatest scouring power, and the water runs with the greatest depth and velocity, is constantly giving way, while the material washed from it is carried down and partly deposited on the convex side, where the stream, flowing gently, has not the power to keep in motion the sediment brought from above. Thus, while the process of excavation goes on, on the concave side, an equally steady process of accumulation is carried on on the convex side. Therefore, a river whose channel is winding, when left to itself, has a tendency to become every year more so. The irregularity of the width of the stream causes irregularity in the depth of water, and renders also the bed of the river subject to change. A tree, which the gradual excavation and falling in of the concave bank has at last precipitated into the river, floating down, lodges somewhere below, where the current, being less rapid and the water less deep, causes it to stop. Here the sand and sediment from above, being obstructed in their downward course, soon accumulate and form a shoal or bar. Sometimes a sudden rise in the river may wash this away, only to form another shoal or bar still farther down, with the same materials. Thus, a shoal or bar may be found this year where the water was deep last year, and *vice versa*. Where the channel is narrow, the velocity and the depth are great; where it is wide, the velocity

#### MOBILE RIVER AND BAY.

is less, and the depth of water shallow and irregular; where the river passes diagonally across the bed from one concave bank to another, shoals are found in the channel above and below the bend. Where the stream is divided by islands, the effect is equally injurious to the river, for the volume of water, being divided, has not the same scouring power, neither of the branches can have the depth of water which would be due to a single one, the motion of water is retarded in its passage through the branches, and shoals are met with in the bed immediately above and below the island.

As the wealth and prosperity of a country keep pace with the increased cultivation of the soil, and the increased production of the industry of the people, they must be materially affected by whatever tends to stimulate or retard the two latter. Commerce has always been the useful and necessary ally of Agriculture, and the increased facilities of a market have always stimulated the industry of a people. Commerce leads to the formation of depots, where the productions of the soil, and of man's industry generally, gathered together from the interior of a country, may be more conveniently subject to coast or foreign transport. Roads are, therefore, necessary for the conveyance of the production of a country from the remote parts of the interior to these commercial depots. A navigable river affords the easiest and cheapest means of transport, particularly when the staple articles of commerce are of a bulky character. When its course, however, is impeded by shoals or bars, or impaired by abrupt bends, which render its navigation difficult and dangerous, it becomes a question of serious import to the people, whose interests are thereby affected, to inquire whether its course may not be so regulated as to obviate the difficulties arising from abrupt bends and islands, and whether the shoals and bars may not be removed.

The main object sought by the improvement of a river, whose navigation for a part of the year is rendered difficult by the defects mentioned above, is to secure a sufficient depth of water at all seasons and along the whole length of its course, a convenient breadth, together with a freedom from abrupt bends, too rapid currents, and shoals or bars. This can be done permanently, only by removing, or at least modifying materially, where they cannot be altogether removed, the causes which produced those defects, for, as long as those causes continue to operate, the same defects, however often removed, will be sure to return.

The capacity of a river for improvements, however, depends upon the quantity of water and the fall. Where the water is abundant and the fall gradual, the work of improvement is not difficult, and a beneficial result may be looked upon as certain.

When, however, the quantity of water is not abundant, and the fall is considerable and not gradual, the work is far more difficult, and should be carried on with great caution and judgment.

If the course of a river was made straight and of a regular fall from the head of navigation to the mouth, and the channel of a uniform width, the main current would be thrown into the centre, where its scouring power would be exercised to the greatest advantage, which would gradually but inevitably tend to produce a uniform velocity, a uniform bed, and a uniform depth along the whole length, while the water near the banks flowing slowly, and consequently having little or no scouring power, would not wash them. Such a course, however, where the water was not abundant, or where the fall was considerable, might destroy the navigation of a river. For the water would acquire such velocity from the absence of all impediment and from the great fall, as to lower the surface of the river below the depth necessary for navigation. In such a case, a circuitous course, provided the bends were not abrupt, would be better than a straight one, because the winding of the river would distribute the fall over a much greater distance, and by thus reducing the velocity, would prevent the water from running off too fast and lowering its surface below the necessary depth. In some instances, diminishing the breadth of the river may be found serviceable for the purpose of increasing the depth. By the decrease of the breadth of the stream the fall may be maintained unchanged in quantity, though the depth may be increased. It is obvious that for this purpose the breadth must be reduced more than the depth increases. When the contraction of the channel of a river is used for the purpose of deepening it, care should be taken not to create too great a depth, where the bed is composed of soft materials, for the increased velocity, caused by the relative increase of volume, may exercise so great a scouring action as to destroy the very works constructed for the improvement. In such a case, it would be necessary to cover the bottom of the bed of the river with materials capable of resisting the scouring power of the current.

The removal of a sand-bar distributes the fall along a greater extent of the course of a river, and renders the depth more regular; while the lowering of the surface of the water, caused by the removal of the bar, causes a greater velocity in the next upper reach, and this again a greater fall. The regulation of a river, or a part of a river, may be undertaken with perfect certainty in such rivers as have shoals only here and there, with deep water between them, as this is the case in the Alabama River.

From what has been already said, it is clear, that the desired

result cannot, in every instance, be secured, as it depends in a great measure on the quantity of water and the fall, so that certain limits cannot be passed.

When it is intended to accelerate the discharge by the regulation, the lowering of the surface of the river depends upon the fall, and if this be slight, the lowering of the surface will be limited. On the other hand, if it is desired to increase the depth at low water, it is clear that this cannot be done by any regulation of the river, unless dams or other similar constructions are made, in order to raise the surface of the water.

The regulation of a river, under ordinary circumstances, costs rather less than the construction of a turnpike of the same length. The excavations necessary for the deepening of the channel and the formation of the banks are not brought into account as earth-work, because the experienced engineer uses rather the natural power of the stream to deepen the bed and regulate the form and height of the banks. But proper precaution should be taken that, in the time of freshets, the main current of the river be kept in the channel, so as to prevent it from being filled up with sand and other materials. It should be considered as a rule, that the river, in time of freshets, must flow in the same channel in which it flows when the water is lowest. But everything depends upon the proper formation of the works, in order that the above-mentioned transformation may take place, and for this purpose a correct knowledge of the efficacy of the water as an operating power, or of the laws which govern the motion of water in rivers, is absolutely necessary. We would here remark that the desired improvement is not produced directly by the constructed works. The object of their construction is to check the irregularity of the current, and to control its direction, so that its own force operating on the bed of the river gradually produces the beneficial effect desired.

When a bar or shoal is produced by sand or sediment deposited by the stream, and is the natural result of an increase in the width of a river, the removal of it by artificial means affords no security against its re-appearance. The cause which led to the deposit of sand or sediment there still continuing to exist, it is certain that the very next freshet will lead to its re-accumulation. Therefore, the removal of sand-bars by the mere use of dredging machines, without, at the same time, preventing their re-formation, by removing the cause that produced them, by a proper regulation of the course of the river, only results in a temporary benefit. After a time the same defect returns, and the work has been done over again.

The published accounts of the improvement of the Clyde have greatly contributed to the belief that the depth of water there had been obtained by dredging operations. Whereas, the fact is,



that the dredging vessels were used there only to free the bottom of the bed from some banks composed of such materials not to be removed by the mere power of the current. The chief object, as Mr. Telford fully describes, was to contract the river and increase the velocity of the current by the construction of new banks. This prevented new deposits, and the scouring power of the water had a much larger share in deepening the bed of the river than the dredging machines.

As an example of the inutility of dredging in a river whose bed is composed of soft materials, brought down and deposited by the stream, we give the following brief extract from an article on the subject of dredging in the Thames off Woolwich, contained in the *Nautical Magazine* for July, 1840:—

"THE THAMES.—It is a remarkable fact, that, notwithstanding the enormous sum of £125,000 was expended in dredging the river Thames off Woolwich, between the years 1808 and 1816, the river is now in as bad a state as ever, and the mud and silt is accumulating instead of decreasing; in 1816 alone, as much as £29,000 was spent, and the sum amounts on an average to £16,000 per annum, to such little purpose."

In stagnant waters, where there exists no cause for the formation of shallows, or sand-banks, or where the depth decreases very slowly, dredging operations may produce a permanent as well as a beneficial result. But in rivers where the scouring action has formed at some place a small and at others a great depth, the proper form of the bed and direction of the course must be established by the use of the power of the stream, and this is done by removing the causes which prevent the formation of a channel of a sufficient depth. The problem to be solved is, how to convey the streams in such a manner that it may produce the most suitable form of its bed, and at the same time the desired depth. We may expect that the favorable result produced will be permanent only when this is accomplished.

The positions here laid down, with respect to the improvement of rivers and navigable waters, and the principles involved in them, are especially worthy of consideration, in reference to the present condition and prospective improvement of the entrance to our river and that part of the bay adjacent to it. In the navigable waters of the Mobile River, or rather Mobile Bay, there are several shoals below the city, which are highly detrimental to its commerce, by preventing large vessels from coming up and discharging at the wharves, and thereby affecting its intercourse with other large seaports. This defect in our bay has, for a long time, given rise to continual complaints on account of the want of a sufficient navigable depth, and wishes expressed to have these obstructions removed.

The great extent of the operations that will be necessary, if any permanent and effective improvement is sought to be estab-

lished, will render the undertaking a very expensive one. The natural consequence of which will be, to induce the adoption of palliative means which will never produce a permanent beneficial result.

The U. S. Engineer Department recommended the deepening of the bed by the use of dredging vessels. Of course, the result that might have been expected followed—the amounts appropriated for the purpose of improvement were soon expended, without producing a greater navigable depth.

As long as the Mobile River is allowed to find its way to the bay through several channels, neither of which can have the depth of water which would be due to a single one, the power to create for itself a channel of sufficient depth, which the concentrated waters of the river certainly would possess, is distributed between them, and thus partially lost. Besides, these several channels discharging their waters into the bay by different mouths and at different angles, interfere with each other, producing eddies and shallows, which prevent uniformity in the depth of the bay; whereas a stream coming from a single and regular channel, would pursue a straight course towards the outfall, with a much more regular motion, and thus create and maintain a more regular channel, and a greater navigable depth throughout the bay.

The depth of water in the outfall through which the river discharges itself through the bay into the Gulf of Mexico depends on the force of the outward motion of the water, so as that of the bay and bed of the river depends entirely and exclusively upon the upland waters.

Whenever the Mobile River shall receive a permanent increase of water by the shutting up of the branches or subsidiary streams, its depths and velocity will be augmented. The velocity being increased by the increase in volume of water, the scouring power of the current will act upon the sides and bottom of the channel with increased force, in consequence of which the cross-sectional area of the stream will also be augmented. The channel being thus deepened and enlarged, the velocity will in turn gradually diminish, until the tenacity of the soil affords a sufficient resistance to the force of the water.

In this way, the entire volume of water in the river being concentrated in one channel, its scouring power may be used to relieve the channel from its present defects, remove the shoals that obstruct its entrance from the bay, and enable vessels of much larger burden to discharge their cargoes at the wharves. The great advantage of this improvement would be its permanent character, for the volume of water once increased sufficiently to deepen the channel and clear out the shoals, would continue to preserve a safe navigable depth.

MOBILE, January 6th, 1854.

## Art. II.—THE REGIONS OF THE AMAZON.

THE attention of the world has been particularly directed, during the past year, to the great valley of the Amazon, in South America; and more especially by the able papers on the subject, by Lieut. Maury, published in the *National Intelligencer*, in our REVIEW, and recently republished in a handsome volume.

It will be recollected, that on the 15th of February, 1851, instructions were transmitted from the Navy Department to Lieutenants Herndon and Gibbon, then at Valparaiso, attached to the U. S. ship *Vandalia*, of the Pacific Squadron, to explore the valley of the Amazon and its tributaries. Lieut. Herndon first proceeded to Lima and Bolivia, for the purpose of collecting from the monasteries, and other sources accessible, information concerning the head-waters of the Amazon and the regions of country drained by its Peruvian tributaries. He found, however, the sources of information there very small and unsatisfactory. The records of the explorations of the Jesuits were out of their reach—in the archives of Quito, at that time the head of the diocese, and the starting point of the missions into the interior. All they could get were some meagre accounts of the operations of the Franciscans, published in 1790. At Lima he was joined by Lieut. Lardner Gibbon, who brought with him full instructions regarding the expedition. These required them to "explore the Amazon from its source to its mouth," together with its tributaries; to note the number and condition, both industrial and social, of the inhabitants of the valley—their trade and products; its climate, soil, and productions; the navigability of its streams; its capacity for cultivation, and the character and extent of its undeveloped commercial resources, whether of the field, the forest, the river, or the mine; also to ascertain the present condition of the silver mines of Peru and Bolivia, and what are the inducements offered by the laws of those countries for emigrants to settle in the eastern provinces of those republics. They were particularly directed to note the agricultural condition of the valley of the Amazon, and to bring home specimens of its products.

Lieut. Herndon, the commander of the expedition, being left by his instructions free to choose his own route down the Amazon, resolved at last, after much consideration, to divide his party. He accordingly ordered Lieut. Gibbon to proceed to explore the country east of Cuzco, and to search for a large and navigable river, said to have its sources in the Carabaya Mountains, called the *Madre de Dios*, thought by some to be the *Purus*. If the route by that river was found impracticable, he was

ordered to proceed to Puno, on Lake Titicaca, thence to La Paz, in Bolivia, and finally to descend the rivers Mamore and Madeira to the Amazon. On arriving at the Amazon, he was to ascend the river to the Barro do Rio Negro, and there await the arrival of Lieut. Herndon, who was to proceed down the Huallaga River to the Amazon, and thence to the Barro do Rio Negro.

The parties left Lima for Tarma, a place a little to the north-east of Lima, on the 20th of May, 1851, provided with passports by the President of Peru, General Castilla. As the report of Lieut. Gibbon is not yet published, we shall pursue the route taken by Lieut. Herndon, whose report is now before us.

On the 27th of May the party arrived at San Mateo, which, though but a short distance from Lima, was found to have an elevation of 10,200 feet above the sea. From this place they visited the silver mines of Parac, in a perfectly sterile region, where nothing but mountains of granite, towering to the skies, appeared. These mines, though rudely worked, yield about \$75,000 annually. On the 2d of June they arrived at the lowest line of perpetual snows. The barometer stood at 16.730, indicating an elevation of 16,044 feet. Water boiled at  $182^{\circ} 5'$ ; temperature of the air,  $43^{\circ}$ . The road at this point, only sixty miles from the sea, passed near three little lakes, whose waters flowed into the Amazon. This was, therefore, the dividing ridge. One of the party was sick with the *veta*, a disease characterized by violent headache, swelling and turgidity of the veins of the head, difficulty of respiration, and coldness of the extremities. It is caused by the rarity of the atmosphere at those high elevations—by an absence of sufficient atmospheric pressure. The smell of garlic is said to alleviate the symptoms; and accordingly, the Peruvians anoint the heads of their mules with an unguent of tallow, garlic, and marjoram, before making the ascent.

Pursuing their weary journey through the mountains, they found themselves very gradually descending, and on the 6th of June arrived at Tarma, a place of 7,000 inhabitants, in the province of Pasco. On their way they visited the copper mines of Morococha, worked by a German company, and found to be very productive. They also had a view, as they passed along, of the Puy-puy, a peak of the Andes, said to be higher than Chimborazo. In this lofty region they found immense numbers of ducks and other aquatic birds, on the small lakes.

Tarma is situated in a beautiful valley, embosomed among trees and flowers, with green lawns stretching out before it, and abounding with tropical fruits and grains. It is said to be so healthy that it does not support a physician, though there are 20,000 inhabitants in the district. Lieut. Herndon found a



young American physician there, who told him an appropriation had to be made by the government to support him. He tried to induce the physician to join his party and leave the place; but the ladies, on hearing that he proposed to carry him off, raised a great outcry, and declared that they could not part with their *Medico*. There was no apothecary's shop in the town, and Lieut. Herndon left the doctor a small supply of medicines. The climate of Tarma is delicious, and it is the resort of the sickly of Lima. Just before reaching Tarma, the exploring party crossed, on a suspension bridge, the river Sauxa, a tributary of the Ucayali, one of the upper southern branches of the Amazon. The latitude of Tarma was found to be, by the mean meridian altitudes of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Centauri,  $11^{\circ} 25' 05''$  South.

On the 16th of June the party left Tarma for the Chanchamayo, a branch of the Ucayali. After travelling a few miles they arrived at the city of Acobamba, said to be more populous than Tarma; and six miles farther brought them to Palca, a town of 1,000 inhabitants. Proceeding down the valley of the Chanchamayo, they arrived on the 19th June at Fort San Ramon, in lat.  $11^{\circ} 07' S.$ , at the foot of the eastern slope of the Andes, 2,600 feet above the level of the sea. The descent in the last four miles was 1,535 feet. The ascent of the Andes, on its western slope, was found to be 232 feet to the mile; and on the eastern, 152 feet. The highest point attained was 16,199 feet.

San Ramon is a military post, at the junction of the Chanchamayo and Tulumayo rivers, for the protection of the country against the Indians, who attempt to dispute the passage of the rivers, and to annoy the inhabitants by setting fire to the woods.

The productions of the country in that region are maize, sugar-cane, coca, yucca, pineapples, plantains, coffee, and cotton. Laborers are hired at half a dollar a day. Sugar-cane is propagated there, from the top joints of the old plant, and is planted at the commencement of the rainy season in September. It is ready for cutting in a year, and yields every ten months, improving in quality and size every crop for a number of years, according to the quality of the land and the care bestowed upon it. It will continue to spring up from the roots for 50 or 60 years, with one or two light workings with hoes in a year. The field is set fire to after every cutting, to burn up the rubbish, weeds, &c. The average height of the cane is about ten feet, though Lieut. Herndon saw stalks of sixteen feet. Sugar at Tarma is worth  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents per pound. Still very little sugar is made in that region, there being no market.

The *coca* is a bush, about four feet high, producing a small light green leaf, which is the part used. The blossom is white, and the fruit a small red berry. The seed is sown in beds, about

the 1st of March. It is transplanted in September, a year and a half after planting, and gives its first crop in a year, and every four months thereafter. It continues to give leaves for many years. Every 100 plants give an arroba of leaves, worth from \$6 to \$7. The leaf of this plant is to the Peruvian Indian what tobacco is in North America.

The *coffee* of that region is very fine—superior to that of Guayaquil and Central America. In Lima, it generally brings \$25 and \$27 per cwt.

*Cotton*, there, may be planted at any time in the year. It is there a tree of some 8 or 10 feet high, giving its crop in one year, and continuing to yield for three years, after which the tree dries up, and must be replanted. It bears cotton all the time; but it is not good during the rainy season. It is the black seed, and when picked off, leaves the seed perfectly bare and clean. There is also the nankeen-colored cotton, the tree appearing exactly like that of the white.

*Yucca*, (Cassava-root,) which is grown from the stalk of the plant, is planted at any time, and yields in nine months. The plant runs up 15 or 20 feet high, with about the thickness of a man's wrist. The yucca is the general substitute for bread, when roasted or boiled, and is very pleasant to the taste. Each plant gives from 20 to 25 pounds of the edible root, which grows in clusters, like the potato, and some of which are as long and thick as a man's arm.

Three crops of *Indian corn* are raised in a year, and it is of good quality.

The most common fruit of the country is the banana; it grows without labor, and supplies constantly with food those too lazy to work. The other fruits, too numerous to mention, thrive luxuriantly.

The country does not seem good for grazing—all the calves are born dead, or soon die after birth, with a goitre, or swelling in the neck. The country, on the head-waters of the Ucayali, is one of the finest in the world, and when the navigation of the Amazon is opened, it will gradually fill with settlers.

On returning to Tarma, the question of dividing the party was discussed, and it was resolved that Lieut. Gibbon should explore the Bolivian tributaries of the Amazon, while Lieut. Herndon took the head-waters and main trunk of the river. They parted on the 1st of July, Lieut. Gibbon for Cuzco, south, and Lieut. Herndon for the head-waters of the Rio Huallaga, north. We shall pursue the latter in his route, for the reason before stated.

His journey at first lay over an elevated mountain region—a plain about 45 miles long by from 6 to 12 broad—the soil gravelly, and too cold and sterile to produce even potatoes.

During the four first days he passed Acobomba, of from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants, and Polcomayo, and Junin of the same size. The inhabitants of this region are chiefly herdsmen, living in houses of mud and straw. There being no timber, turf is used for fuel. The plain of Junin is historical, it being where Bolivar, on the 6th of August, 1824, completely defeated the Spaniards. Lieut. Herndon visited the pyramid, erected by Mariano Rivero, then prefect of the province, to commemorate the battle. It is built at the foot of a small hill, where the Liberator stood directing the fight. It is white, and appears to be 70 or 80 feet high. The city of Junin stands at the southern extremity of Lake Chinchaycocha, 12,947 feet above the level of the sea. No other battle was probably ever fought at such an elevation. The lake is 20 miles long by 6 broad, and discharges its waters into the Amazon by the river Jauxa, a branch of the Ucayali.

A few miles north of Junin is the silver region, the mouths of mines, some worked and some abandoned, appearing in every direction. The city of Cerro Pasco, which the party entered on the 5th of July, is the centre of the mining region. It is a strange place, with narrow streets, "entirely honeycombed having the mouths of mines, some two or three yards in diameter, gaping everywhere." The earth is so full of excavations that the falling in of the mines is of frequent occurrence. A few years ago 300 persons were buried in one of them, and four days before the arrival of Lieut. Herndon, five persons were buried alive. The silver mines of Cerro Pasco were discovered in 1630, and although they have been worked ever since, they now yield about \$2,000,000 annually, or more than all the rest of Peru. M. Castelnau estimates that these mines, up to the year 1849, have yielded about \$475,000,000, or \$2,170,000 annually.

About 200 miles S. E. of Cerro Pasco are the celebrated quicksilver mines of Huancavelica. They were opened in 1751, and up to the year 1789 yielded 1,040,452 quintals; which, at the mean price of \$65 per quintal, would amount to \$67,629,380. In the same period there were expended on them \$10,587,845. Since 1789 they have yielded nothing of importance. They could probably still be worked to advantage. Bolivar refused to sell them for \$670,000.

The city of Cerro Pasco is 13,802 feet above the sea, and has a population of from 6,000 to 15,000, all engaged in mining. The usual immorality of mining regions prevails. There are no ladies there, says Lieut. Herndon, and no religion, even in form. Everything is swallowed up in the love of gain. The climate is uncomfortably cold, the elevation being so great. In July, August, and September, the mean temperature is 44° in

the day, and  $35^{\circ}$  at night. From the middle of October to the end of April the climate, says Lieut. Herndon, is insupportable from the rains, tempests and lightnings, which almost every year cause damage.

Almost immediately after leaving Cerro Pasco, Lieut. Herndon came upon the head-waters of the Huallaga. Seven miles N. N. E. of Cerro Pasco, he found the village of Quinna, where a mint, now abandoned, was established some years ago. In the same neighborhood there are gold mines. On the 14th of July the party arrived at San Rafael, a place of 250 souls, and 8,551 feet above the sea. Vegetation here was more abundant, and flowers in profusion; but the snow-capped peaks of the Andes were still on all sides. About 10 miles from San Rafael they began a rapid descent, and in fifteen minutes found themselves in a region of fruit-trees and sugar-canes, on the banks of the Huallaga. The sudden transition from rugged mountain peaks, where there was no cultivation, to a tropical vegetation, was marvellous.

A few hours after leaving San Rafael, they arrived at Ambo, a town of 1,000 souls, situated at the junction of the Huacar and Huallaga. They were now in a delightful region. The valley was everywhere beautiful. Two miles from Ambo, on the opposite bank, appeared another pretty village almost hidden in the luxuriant vegetation about it. Fields of sugar-cane and alfalfa appeared on all sides.

On the 16th of July Lieut. Herndon arrived at Huanuco, one of the most ancient cities in Peru. The Huallaga is here about 40 yards wide, and 2 deep in low water. The population is from 4,000 to 5,000. The houses are of adobe. There are 15 churches, the inhabitants being much attached to religion. Some of the churches are large and handsome. Huanuco is 5,946 feet above the level of the sea, and is very healthy. It has a college of 100 students, well endowed, and well supplied with chemical and philosophical apparatus, purchased in Europe, by the exertions of Don Mariano Eduardo de Rivero, formerly prefect of the department, and now Consul-General to the Netherlands, where he is said to be preparing a voluminous work on the antiquities of Peru. He has, besides, founded schools, improved roads, built cemeteries, and made most of the improvements in Peru. The people of Huanuco are extremely anxious to have the navigation of the Huallaga opened to that place. Gold is found in the mountains near Huanuco.

Following down the Huallaga, through a delightful tropical region, they arrived on the 23d of July at Acomayo, after passing two or three smaller places. It has 300 inhabitants, and is 7,518 feet above the sea. The road thus far down the valley had been rugged, and on the 25th of July, a little below Chin-



chao, the mule road ceased. Here they were to await the Indians from Tingo Maria, a village at the head of canoe navigation on the Huallaga, to take the place of the mules in carrying the baggage. The *coca* is much raised in this region, and Lieut. Herndon mentions a hacienda, or plantation, that produced a crop worth \$21,800 annually. It sells at Huanuco at \$3 per arroba. Coca is the only marketable product of the valley of the Huallaga, although cotton, coffee, sugar, &c., grow luxuriantly. The valley does not abound in wild animals, but there are deer, hares, tiger-cats, and animals of the mink kind, that annoy poultry. The birds are generally of gay plumage, but not very numerous. Insects are very abundant and troublesome. The climate is very pleasant and healthy. Bats are very annoying there, to animals, by sucking their blood.

On the 30th of June, thirteen Indians arrived to conduct Lieut. Herndon, and carry his baggage. They found the river rapid, and full of trees and boulders, which rendered even canoe navigation dangerous. On the 1st of August they arrived at Tingo Maria, a small hamlet on the right bank of the river. This place is 335 miles from Lima by the route travelled, and is at the head of canoe navigation. It is a nineteen days' journey from Lima, by the shortest route. A mule that will carry 260 lbs. can be hired at Lima for \$1 per day, including feed. Travellers are obliged to hire new mules every 100 miles.

Tingo Maria is pleasantly situated on the left bank of the river, in a fertile plain six miles wide by three broad, 2,260 feet above the sea. The productions of this plain are sugar-cane, rice, cotton, tobacco, indigo, maize, sweet potatoes, yuccas, and the sachassapa, or potato of the woods, the large, mealy purple-streaked root of a vine, in taste like a yam, and very good food. The game are American tigers, deer, wild hogs, monkeys, &c. Curassows, turkeys, many varieties of parrots, ducks, cormorants, and other birds, are numerous; also rattle-snakes and vipers. The woods are so thick and tangled with undergrowth, that none but an Indian can penetrate them; and even the Indian rarely ventures into them, for fear of the tiger and vipers. Bats are found in that region of enormous size. One of the servants of Lieut. Herndon shot one that measured about two feet across the extended wings. They are of the vampire species, and are a formidable enemy to animals and travellers, who have to sleep with head and body entirely enveloped in a blanket, in order to prevent their blood from being sucked by them at night.

At Tingo Maria, Lieut. Herndon and his party embarked in two large canoes, each about 40 feet long by 2½ broad, dug out of a single tree. They found the average breadth of the river about 90 yards, and the velocity about 3½ miles an hour,

except at rapids, which were numerous. The banks were low, and covered with cane, trees and bushes. There are hills on each side at some distance from the shore. Tigers were heard at night, and gangs of large red monkeys were seen along the shores, of the species called howling monkeys. They are roasted and eaten by the Indians. A species of river-hog, an amphibious animal, about half the size of a full-grown hog, is common in the Huallaga. It is of a red color, which was the color of all the animals that Lieut. Herndon saw in that region. Lieut. Herndon frequently supped on *monkey soup*—a common dish among the Indians. Monkey flesh, however, he found rather tough.

On the 7th of August, the party arrived at the port of Uchiza. Nearly all the towns on the river are from six to nine miles from its bank, in consequence of the overflow in high-water; and the port is a small place on a high bluff, with a road leading from it to the town. On the same day, they passed the mouths of two small tributaries of salt water. They flow from a hill of salt, about a day's journey from the Huallaga, from which the inhabitants supply themselves.

The voyage down the river was at the rate of about fifty miles a day. On the eleventh day, below Tingo Maria, the head of canoe navigation, they found the river, at a place called Sion, one hundred yards broad, eighteen feet deep, and with a current of four miles an hour. They had, however, passed several dangerous rapids, called *malos pasos*. The river, thus far down, was found to have a rise, in high-water, of about forty feet, overflowing the country for many miles inland. On the 13th of August, the party passed the *Pan de Azucar*, a sugar-loaf island of slate rock, towering above the river, which, below it, they found running between high cliffs of white rock—an argillaceous schist.

They found rapids very frequent, down which they let themselves by ropes. These are more dangerous in high water than in low.

In descending the Huallaga, scarcely a day passed without arriving at some village; and the farther they descended the more beautiful and fertile the valley became. Nothing but good government and an industrious people are necessary to make that region one of the richest and most delightful in the world. But the people are excessively ignorant and indolent—a consequence of bad government—and there is no inducement for them to aspire to anything beyond a rude existence. They would be robbed of their wealth if they were to accumulate it by rapacious governors. As for personal liberty, they have none. Lieutenant Herndon relates, that the people of Eastern Peru, wherever he went, were subject, at all times, to any service that a governor

might require of them. He could call them from their homes at any time, and send them on an expedition. They feared to have it known that they had money, lest a governor might demand it of them. "I do not wonder at the indifference of the people," says Lieutenant Herndon, "to attempt to better their condition. The power of the governor to take them from their labor, and send them on journeys of weeks' duration with any passing merchant or traveller, would have this effect." Of course, the natives are extremely mild and submissive, or they would not subject themselves to such despotism. On the 14th of August, Lieutenant Herndon arrived at Chualluayacu, a settlement of twenty houses. All the inhabitants, except those of one house, were absent. He was told that they had been disobedient in some matter to the governor of the district, and that he had come upon them with a force, and carried them off prisoners to Juan Juy, a large town farther down the river, where authority might be brought to bear upon them.

Such is Peruvian civilization, if, indeed, civilization it may be called. It is certainly no better than that of Turkey or Egypt. The way to improve Peru is first to reform and civilize its government. Living in the most fertile and healthy region, its people are kept down and disheartened by a miserable government.

The river at Chualluayacu was one hundred yards wide, shallow and rapid, with hills on the right, and a vast plain covered with trees, canes, and bushes on the left. On the east side of the Huallaga there are but few settlements, owing to the savages who inhabit that side. These savages are those who have not as yet been converted to Christianity. They are called by the Peruvians *infidels*, and are captured and enslaved by them. Slavery is prohibited by the laws of Peru; but those laws are a dead letter so far as regards these unconverted Indians, who are allowed to be enslaved, on the plea that the infidel is Christianized, and his condition bettered by it.

On the 18th of August, the party passed the mouth of the Hunanza. The salt hills of this region are remarkable. They are about three hundred feet in height, and extend along the banks of the river for a quarter of a mile. The salt shows like frost upon their red earth at a distance; but seen nearer, the heavy rains seem to have washed away the loose earth, and left the nearly pure salt standing in innumerable cone-shaped pinnacles; so that the broken sides of the hills look like what drawings represent of the crater of a volcano. Where the hills have been excavated, beautiful stalactites of perfectly pure salt hang from the roof in many varieties of shapes. There are much higher hills back of these that appear also to contain salt, so that there seems to be an inexhaustible supply.

On the 19th of August, Lieutenant Herndon arrived at Tarapoto, the largest town since he left Huanuco. It has 3,600 inhabitants, and stands in a populous district. It is a place of some trade, and goods brought from Lima thither sell at an advance of about four hundred per cent. on the cost at Lima. The people of Tarapoto are chiefly employed in the manufacture of cotton cloth, of which they make some thirty or forty thousand yards annually, at twelve and a half cents a yard. This and white wax, used so extensively in the churches, are the chief staples of the country. Money being almost unknown there, the entire trade is barter. The country is extremely productive. Cotton yields a crop every six months; rice every five months; indigo is indigenous; bananas grow in vast abundance, with little trouble; and cattle of all kinds multiply rapidly. All the country needs to make it a perfect garden of wealth is a Yankee population.

The country is without roads—an unerring evidence of the barbarism and uncivilized character of the country. All cargoes are transported on the backs of Indians. The inhabitants have no idea of comfort in their domestic relations. The houses are of mud, thatched with palm, and have uneven dirt floors. The furniture consists of a grass hammock, a standing bed-place, a coarse table, and a stool or two. The governor of this populous district goes barefooted, and the common people are two-thirds naked. Clothing, indeed, is a matter of decency there rather than of necessity. Lieutenant Herndon paid his peons for their services in cloth, money being a thing unknown to them.

At Tarapoto, Lieutenant Herndon inquired into the feasibility of a steamboat enterprise from the Atlantic up to that region—bringing American goods, and taking in return cargoes of coffee, tobacco, straw hats, hammocks, and sarsaparilla, to the ports of Brazil, on the Amazon. He was informed by intelligent Spaniards there, that it could not fail to enrich any one who would attempt it, but that the difficulty lay in the fact that a steamer could never get up as high as the Huallaga, as all the goods it could carry would be bought up and paid for, in return cargoes, long before it reached Peru. The money, too, of the Brazilians along the Amazon would readily snatch up all the goods that would be brought. As a curious instance of Yankee enterprise and adventure, Lieutenant Herndon states, that a few months before he arrived in that region, an American circus company passed down the valley of the Huallaga, astonishing the natives, of course, as they went along. They floated their horses down the river on rafts, and when last heard of were descending the great Amazon. Lieutenant Herndon thinks that they could not have been very successful, judging from the number of dead ponies, killed by the vampire bats, that he found along the



Huallaga. They probably fared better when they reached Brazil.

Lieut. Herndon strongly recommends the valley of the Huallaga to emigrants, on account of its great fertility and healthiness of climate. He says it combines more advantages than any other in Peru. The valley of the Ucayali is richer, and produces cotton and coffee; but it is entirely an unsettled wilderness, except by Indians, and the emigrant would have to fight the savages constantly. In the valley of the Huallaga the governors are authorized to give lands to all emigrants who will receive them. The country produces four crops of corn a year.

On the 28th of August the party arrived at Yurimaguas, a small place of 250 inhabitants, but important on account of its geographical position. It is at the mouth of the river Cachiayacu, which is the route of communication between the ports of the Amazon and the country between the Huallaga and Marañon, in Peru. Yurimaguas, therefore, would be the key to Eastern Peru, for all expeditions coming up the Amazon from the Atlantic to trade with the Peruvians.

On leaving Yurimaguas, the traveller begins to enter the lake country, as he approaches the Amazon. Lakes of various sizes, and at irregular distances, border the rivers, and communicate with them. They are full of fowl, fish, and turtle.

Passing two more small towns, Santa Cruz and Laguna, Lieut. Herndon arrived at the junction of the Huallaga with the Amazon, 25 miles below Laguna, on the 3d of September, 1851. The Huallaga, at its mouth, is 350 yards wide, and 45 deep. The Amazon, at this point, is 500 yards wide. The water of both rivers is very muddy and filthy, particularly the Huallaga, which for some distance within the mouth is covered with a glutinous scum, the excrements of fishes, probably of the porpoise. From the mouth of the Huallaga to Tingo Maria, the head of canoe navigation, it is 325 miles—a journey of 74 working hours.

Lieut. Herndon now entered upon the main trunk of the Amazon, which bears its Peruvian name of Marañon as far as the Tobatinga, at the Brazilian frontier, below which, and as far as the junction of the Rio Negro, it takes the name of Solimóens, and thence to the ocean is called Amazon. "The march of the great river," says Lieut. Herndon, "is sublime; but in the untamed might of its turbid waters, as they cut away its banks, tear down the gigantic denizens of the forest, and build up islands, it is awful. It rolls through the wilderness with a stately and solemn air; its waters look sullen and relentless; and the whole scene awakens emotions of dread and awe—such as are caused by the funeral solemnities, the minute-gun, the howl

of the wind, and the angry tossing of the waves, when all hands are called to bury the dead in a troubled sea."

The waters of the Amazon are muddy and turbid like those of the Mississippi; but the river, of course, lacks the charm which the rich plantations and pretty towns and villages along the Mississippi afford. Lieut. Herndon found the shores low, but abrupt, and the waters filled with porpoises and alligators. At Parinari the banks were about twenty feet high. Monkeys were seen in every direction along the shores. They are the common food of the Indians. He passed small *pueblos*, or settlements, almost daily. On the 9th of September he arrived at the mouths of the Ucayali, 210 miles below the Huallaga. Nauta, a village at its mouth, contains 1,000 inhabitants. The trade of the place is in fish and sarsaparilla, which is very abundant. The whole trade of the province in which Nauta is situated does not exceed \$20,000 annually. The gathering of sarsaparilla, and the carrying on of trade in general, is much impeded by the ferocity of the savages.

The entire trade of the river Amazon, as measured by the imports and exports of Para, amounted, in 1851, to only \$2,000,000; but the introduction of steamboats would increase the trade rapidly, and as rapidly enrich all engaged in it; but on this subject we have already treated largely in previous numbers of the REVIEW. We have also given the valuable papers of Lieut. Maury on the subject. All that is now needed is a treaty with Brazil, permitting our citizens freely to navigate the Amazon, a thing which nothing but the jealousy and short-sighted policy of Brazil prevents. She stands in her own light, and cannot see that the opening of the Amazon would enrich herself as well as others. We admire the enthusiasm of Lieut. Herndon. "Had I the honor," says he, "to be mustered among the statesmen of my country, I would risk political fame and life in the attempt to have the commerce of this noble river thrown open to the world."

The Amazon, at the mouth of the Ucayali, is three-fourths of a mile wide. The country there is covered with excellent timber of various kinds, suitable for house or ship building, and for all other purposes. Some of them are very hard, heavy, and beautiful. The *palo de saugre* is a tree whose wood is a rich red, admitting of a high polish. The *lignum vitæ* is common.

On the 25th of September, 1851, Lieut. H. began to explore the Ucayali. It is a beautiful stream, with low shelving green banks at its mouth, but is not more than half as wide as the Amazon where it empties into it. It is the longest tributary above Brazil, and is called by some the main trunk of the Amazon. The banks are constantly caving in, and the current

near the mouth is about 1½ miles per hour. Islands are numerous, and the country open. There are many lakes on each side of the river opening into it. Turtles and fish are very abundant in its waters.

After a tedious voyage of 23 days on the river, Lieut. H. arrived at Sarayacu, a Franciscan Missionary Station, of 1,000 inhabitants. He had passed only a few small places of no importance. Here his exploration of the Ucayali ended, it being impossible to procure men to accompany him farther. The navigation above Sarayacu is said to be poor.

Both the Huallaga and Ucayali rivers are full of snags, which render the navigation dangerous. The Ucayali averages half a mile wide, 20 feet deep, at low water, and has a velocity of 3 miles per hour—up as far as Sarayacu, 270 miles; in a straight line, 150. The Indians along that river are of a roving disposition, and towns that existed in 1835 cannot now be found. The difference between high and low water mark, on the Ucayali, is about 35 feet. The bottom of the river is full of sunken trees. At the mouth it is 72 feet deep, and with a current of three-quarters of a mile per hour, which is also about the velocity of the Amazon at that place.

On the 7th of November, Lieut. H. arrived at Iquitos, not far below the mouth of the Ucayali. It is on an elevated plain, which is said to extend far back from the shores of the river. Most of the towns on the Amazon are built on a hill, with a low, swampy country behind them. Cotton and coffee trees are seen growing in the streets. The shores of the Amazon, at Iquitos, are bold, and of white clay. Just below the town is the mouth of the Nanay, 150 yards wide. The depth of the Amazon there is 50 feet. In this part of the river it is sometimes two miles wide, and then narrowing to half a mile.

Just before arriving at New-Oran, or Pucallpa, on the 8th of November, Lieut. H. found no bottom at 180 feet. On the same day he arrived at the mouth of the Napa, a northern tributary, which has its head near Quito, and nearly to which it is navigable for canoes. On the 2d of December, he arrived at Loreto, where the river is 102 feet deep, and three-quarters of a mile wide, with a current of three miles an hour. Loreto is the first town he arrived at on the river bearing the marks of civilization. It has three mercantile houses, owned by Portuguese. The houses of the town are better built than any above that point. This place is the frontier post of Peru on the east. There are a few miles of neutral territory between it and Brazil. The population is 250. Loreto is in latitude 4° south, and longitude 70° 30' west. Twenty miles below Loreto, the party arrived at the first town in Brazil, Tobatinga, a military post. Here Lieut. H. found it necessary to sail under the Brazilian

flag, to avoid giving offence along the river. He also found it necessary to leave his Peruvian boat and embark in a Brazilian vessel. This they compel all travellers to do.

On the 8th of December, Lieut. H. arrived at San Paulo, a town of 350 souls, situated on a hill 2 or 300 feet above the river, and difficult to approach. It carries on a considerable trade in sarsaparilla and cocoa. It is 95 miles below Tobatinga, in about latitude  $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south. The next day, 50 miles farther down, they arrived at Matura. The shores of the river continue to be low, and of white or red clay. The banks are continually falling in, carrying down trees, and thus impeding the navigation. On the same day, they passed the mouth of the Putumayo, half a mile wide at its mouth, with an estuary a mile wide. The water is clearer than that of the Amazon. It is navigable a journey of two months above its mouths in canoes. The Brazilian slaves escape, by way of this river, into Grenada. The next rivers he passed were the Jutay and the Jurua, the former navigable 540 miles, and the latter 780. The Indians on the banks of these rivers are very hostile. M. Castelnau relates that there is a pigmy race of Indians, said to be living on the Jurua, whose stature does not exceed  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet; and that another tribe have tails, and are a mixture of Indians and Coata monkeys. These strange stories have arisen from mistaking the Coata monkey for a man. These monkeys are large, black, and pot-bellied, being about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. They have a few thin hairs on the top of their head, says Lieut. H., and look very like an old negro.

On the 16th of December, 1851, the party passed the two mouths of the Japura, the largest 100 yards wide. The water is clear, and the depth of the mouth about 50 feet. The current is about three-quarters of a mile per hour, and the river can be navigated a month in canoes, going up the stream. The Indians on its banks kill white men when they can—a consequence of the old Brazilian system of hunting Indians for slaves. Besides the usual products of the valley of the Amazon already mentioned, this river affords the carajuru, a very brilliant scarlet dye, not yet introduced into commerce. It is as brilliant and beautiful as cochineal.

The Amazon, at the mouth of the Japura, in latitude  $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S., and longitude  $67^{\circ}$  W., is four or five miles wide, separated into channels by islands.

On the 17th of December, Lieut. H. arrived at Egos, a place of 800 inhabitants, the largest place above Borra. It has eight or ten commercial houses that carry on a thriving trade with Peru and Pará. The trade is carried on in schooners of 30 or 40 tons. Egos is 1,450 miles from the mouth of the Amazon, and the round voyage is made in schooners in five months.



There are five vessels in this trade, which is worth about \$38,000 annually. Negro slaves are numerous at Egos. A common negro is worth \$250, and a mechanic \$500. They are difficult to keep, the route to Peru, Ecuador, and New-Grenada, being easy. At Egos, Lieut. H. saw monkeys with faces "of a very pretty rose color."

At Egos, Lieut. H. found the temperature of boiling water only  $208^{\circ}.2$ , which was  $3^{\circ}$  below that of Santa Cruz, more than 1,000 miles above Egos, on the Huallaga. At Santa Cruz, two days above the mouth of the Huallaga, the boiling point of water was  $211^{\circ}.2$ ; at Nauta, 305 miles below Santa Cruz, on the Amazon, it was  $211^{\circ}.3$ ; and at Pebas, 175 miles below Nauta, it was  $211^{\circ}.1$ . If these observations can be relied on, they prove that Egos has an elevation of 1,500 feet above that of Santa Cruz, which is situated more than 1,000 miles *up stream* of it. It is difficult to believe, that in *descending* the Huallaga and Amazon 1,000 miles, Lieut. H. could have actually *ascended* 1,500 feet: there was probably some error in his observations. The boiling point of water depends upon many other things besides elevation; and unless these are noted, mistakes are liable to occur. From Egos downward to Pará, he found a regular increase in the temperature required for boiling, which at Pará was found to be  $211^{\circ}.5$ .

Lieut. H. estimates the elevation of Nauta, which is 2,325 miles from the sea, at 365 feet above the sea level. This would give the river a fall of about .16 of a foot per mile, a decrease which he thinks would hardly give the river its actual average velocity of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour.

Lieut. Herndon accounts for these singular results, indicated by the boiling point at different places on the Amazon, by supposing "that the trade-winds are dammed up by the Andes, and that the atmosphere in those parts is, from this cause, compressed, and consequently heavier than it is farther from the mountains, though over a less elevated portion of the earth." He thence infers that the barometer is not to be relied on at the eastern foot of the Andes.

Two days below Egos, 115 miles, the river was only a mile wide, 60 feet deep, and running between bold red cliffs. There is always a strong eastern wind blowing up the Amazon, which creates so much sea that small boats descending are obliged to keep close in shore. On the 3d of January, 1852, the party arrived at the mouth of the Purus, which they found to be three-fourths of a mile wide, and the Amazon  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. It is a fine-looking river, with moderately bold shores; but its waters are muddy, like the Amazon. Condamine states that, in sounding the Purus, at its mouth, he found no bottom at 618 feet. This induced Lieut. Herndon to make accurate soundings; and

he found 108 feet of water one mile from its mouth, with a bottom of soft blue mud, nearer the left than the right bank; in mid-stream he found 78 feet; and in the strong ripples where the two rivers meet, 96 feet. In the Amazon, opposite the mouth, he found 138 feet. The Purus has a sluggish current of not over three-quarters of a mile per hour. The temperature of the water is  $84\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , that of the Amazon  $88^{\circ}$ , and the air  $82^{\circ}$ .

At this point, on the Amazon, the whole country seemed to be cut up with channels from river to river, such as are called in Louisiana *bayous*. These on the Amazon frequently widen out into lakes. The banks of the Amazon, below the Purus, begin to lose the character of savage and desolate solitude that characterizes them above, and show signs of habitation and cultivation. Farms, with neatly framed and plastered houses, are scattered along the banks, rendering the general aspect more cheerful.

On the 5th of January, Lieut. H. passed a rock in the Amazon, called *calderon*, or big pot, from the bubbling and boiling of the water over it when the river is full. It was then six or eight feet above the surface of the water. It is probably a huge boulder swept down from the sides of the Andes. On the same day, they arrived at the mouth of the Rio Negro, so called from its black water. It was the largest branch that they had, thus far down, seen. The entrance is broad and superb, the mouth being 2 miles wide, with a depth of water of 105 feet in the middle, and with little or no current. The left bank was bold and rocky.

Seven miles from the mouth of the Rio Negro is the town of Borra, the capital of the Province of Amazonas, built on an elevated and broken ground, 1,475 feet above the level of the sea. The houses are generally of one story, of wood and adobe, and with tiled roofs. The population, in 1848, was 3,614 souls, not including 234 slaves. The soil, in the immediate neighborhood of the town, is poor, as also the timber. The country around is, as everywhere on the Amazon, filled with Indians. They are thorough savages, among whom infanticide is very common. They kill their children, from an indisposition to take care of them.

The Rio Negro is navigable about 400 miles to the Rio Maraya, where rapids commence. These rapids, however, may be passed by steamers. The confluence of the Cassiquiari with the Rio Negro is about 660 miles above Borra. The Cassiquiari, as is well known, connects the Rio Negro with the Orinoco; and the passage from the Amazon to the mouth of the Orinoco, by way of the Cassiquiari, may be made by steamers in 19 $\frac{1}{2}$  days.

In the Province of Amazonas, of which Borra is the capital,

there is scarcely any attempt at the regular cultivation of the earth; but the natural productions of its soil are most varied and valuable. In the forest are 23 well-known varieties of palms, all more or less useful. Most of them bear fruit which is edible in some shape or other. There are 22 kinds of trees fit for ship-building; 33 for houses; and 12 (some of which are very beautiful) for cabinet work. There are 12 kinds of trees that exude milk from their bark. The India-rubber tree is one. The milk of the mururé is said to possess extraordinary medical virtues in the cure of mercurial diseases. The whole valley of the Amazon, indeed, abounds in medicinal plants.

The banks of the rivers and lakes in the Province of Amazonas abound with wild rice and myriads of water-fowls. There is also in the province a species of wild cotton, with a delicate and glossy fibre like silk, growing in balls on a very large tree, which is nearly leafless. Cotton is planted there in August, and the tree bears three years. Another valuable product of the country is the Brazil-nut, which grows on a very tall tree.

There is a curious public mail system on the Amazon, which shows the economy and civilization of the Brazilians. At every town on the river there is established a post-office; but there are no public conveyances provided for carrying the mails. This important defect in the system is remedied, by the Brazilian government, by requiring the captains of all vessels, going up or down the river, to report themselves at the offices, and to receive and transport the mail safely to the next office, after giving a receipt for the same.

On the 8th of February, Lieut. Herndon left Borra, and proceeded down the Amazon, which, at the mouth of the Rio Negro, he found to be 198 feet deep. About sixty miles below the mouth of the Rio Negro, he passed a sugar plantation. The cane is planted there in December, and is ready to cut in ten months. The soil is black and rich, and the cane does not require replanting more than once in twenty years. Lumber in that region is also a profitable article for shipping down the Amazon. It brings at Para \$40 per thousand.

About ninety miles below the Rio Negro is the mouth of the Madeira, the largest tributary of the Amazon. It drains an area of 40,000 square leagues. The Amazon, at the mouth of the Madeira, is two miles wide. The Madeira has two mouths, the western three-quarters of a mile wide, and the eastern one and a quarter miles. The current of the Madeira is about three and a quarter miles per hour, but it varies according to the season. About 450 miles above its mouth, its navigation is impeded by rapids, which occupy a space of 850 miles in length. Above these rapids it is again navigable for large vessels. The rapids

of the Madeira are said to be passable in high water. Its tributaries, the Beni and Mamoré, and the Itenes or Guaporé, are all navigable far up into the heart of Brazil, and even to Bolivia.

The difference between high and low water mark on the Amazon, between the Rio Negro and Madeira rivers, is about forty feet. Within a quarter of a mile from the shore the water is 120 feet deep, and the current about three miles per hour. This increase of current is ascribed to the Madeira. The country in this portion of the valley of the Amazon is much cut up with lakes.

On the 24th of February, Lieut. H. arrived at Villa Nova, not far below the Madeira. It is the frontier town of the Province of Amazonas, and has a custom-house. It contains about 200 inhabitants, and is 959 feet above the level of the sea. All foreign merchandise brought up the river pays a duty of one and a half per cent. *ad valorem*; and all domestic produce passing down pays a duty of half per cent. The duties collected in two months amounted to \$1,000, which may serve to indicate the trade of the river.

The region of country about Villa Nova is thought to be the most desirable on the Amazon. In some parts the country is a great grazing plain or prairie, the soil of which is very rich, and adapted to the cultivation of cotton, coffee, and cocoa. The rivers abound with fish; any number of cattle may be pastured upon the plains; and the neighboring woods yield cloves, cocoa, castanhas, India rubber, guarana, sarsaparilla, and copaiba. It is also said to be a healthy country.

On the Romos, a tributary entering the Amazon about a league below Villa Nova, is the town of Manés, containing 3,790 whites and 82 slaves. One hundred and five miles below Villa Nova is Obidos, near the mouth of the Trombetas, a very large river, running through a fine grazing country. The cocoa plantations in this region are numerous, and exceedingly beautiful. The seeds of the cocoa are planted in beds in August, and in the following January are transplanted in squares of about 12 feet. In three years they bear fruit, and for 70 or 80 years afterwards. There are two crops a year. The labor of one slave is sufficient for 2,000 bearing trees. The average yield is 25 arrobas for 1,000 trees, worth \$1 per arroba.\* Sometimes 50 arrobas are obtained from 1,000 trees.

Obidos is situated on a high, bold point on the Amazon, which is there one and a half miles wide, and over 200 feet deep. The coast there is, for several miles, 150 feet in height, of red earth, resting upon a red rock. The town contains about 500 inhabitants, and the district about 14,000.

\* The arroba is 25½ pounds.



On the 1st of March the party arrived at Santarem, at the mouth of the Tapajos, one of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, and a mile and a half wide at its mouth. The town, which is 460 miles from the Rio Negro, and 650 miles from the sea, is the largest on the river, after Pará. Its population is about 5,000 whites and 2,000 slaves, according to the official returns; these returns, however, everywhere on the river, include the inhabitants of all the cocoa plantations for miles round. The town proper contains about 2,000 souls. It has a church and several primary schools. The trade of the place is considerable.

The Tapajos is navigable for large vessels 15 days against a strong current, or 200 miles including some rapids, which can only be passed by unloading. By ascending the Rio Preto, a branch of the Tapajos, the town of *Diamantina*, in the gold and diamond region, is reached, situated on the dividing ridge between the waters which flow north into the Amazon, and those which flow south into the Rio de la Plata. The Cuiabá River, a branch of the Paraguay, approaches within 90 miles of Diamantina, on the Tapajos, and there is a regular portage established between that city and the city of Cuiabá, on the Cuiabá River. A portage of only 18 miles is also found by ascending the Arinos, a branch of the Tapajos. This latter portage admits of vehicles drawn by oxen, whence it is inferred that it cannot be very difficult.

Cuiabá is a flourishing city of 10,000 inhabitants, and can be approached by large vessels from the ocean through the Paraguay, which is now open to the world. But as Cuiabá is in Brazil, the navigation of the Paraguay is of no use to it, and it receives all its supplies by an overland route from Rio Janeiro, or by way of the Tapajos. So much for the narrow, half-civilized policy of the Brazilian government, which deprives its own cities of the benefit even of navigable rivers.

The diamond region about Diamantina and the head waters of the Paraguay and Tapajos have produced, up to 1849, more than \$10,000,000 worth of diamonds. The diamond region is very unhealthy, and has cost Brazil the lives of 100,000 men. The expense of living at Diamantina is very great, merchandise being worth there 800 per cent. above its cost at Pará. Traders between Para and Diamantina bring back gold, diamonds, and hides, and realize a profit in eight months, on the original outlay, of 500 per cent. If Brazil could be induced to throw open the navigation to the city of Cuiabá, by way of the Cuiabá and Paraguay rivers, steamers could penetrate the very heart of this diamond region, and the trade with that country would be the source of unbounded wealth for many years to come.

The banks of the Tapajos are infested with hostile Indians,

who frequently attack the whites; and fevers are prevalent. Venomous insects, vampire bats, and enormous alligators also abound. The insects torment the traveler by day, and the bats suck his blood by night; while the hideous noise of thousands of alligators preclude sleep; and sometimes animals seize the traveller while stretched on the ground at night to rest his weary limbs. Tigers and panthers are also numerous and dangerous.

On the 2d of April, Lieut. Herndon, after passing several small towns, arrived at Gurupá, a place of about 300 inhabitants. Here the Amazon is 10 miles wide. This place is about 500 miles from the sea, and about 35 miles above the commencement of the great estuary of the Amazon. The river suddenly flares out into an immense bay, which is probably 150 miles across in its widest part. This bay is full of islands, dividing it into innumerable channels. Near the centre of it is the great island of Marajo, having an area of 10,000 square miles, and dividing the Amazon into two great channels. There are, as yet, no accurate charts of the mouth of the Amazon, the government of Brazil doggedly refusing any surveys to be made. The shores of the islands are all low, the trees standing in the water.

Thus have we followed Lieut. Herndon in his explorations from the head waters of the Huallaga, in Peru, to the mouth of the Amazon, the valley of which we have seen to be the most fertile and extensive of any on the globe, but unfortunately shut up from the world by a government too ignorant to appreciate the benefits it would confer upon itself, as well as others, by throwing the Amazon open. Brazil, in common with the entire Spanish and Portuguese races, is jealous of the progressive tendencies of the Anglo-Saxons, and hence the prohibition. She may, however, be taught, by skilful management, to see the immense advantages that she herself would derive from opening the Amazon, and it is to be hoped that our government will leave nothing untried to effect so desirable an object.

Peru has yielded, so far as she is concerned; but as the mouth of the Amazon belongs to Brazil, the Peruvian grants avail us but little. Brazil, through its Consul, in New-York, has warned our citizens against any attempts to ascend the Amazon; so that nothing further can be done, in attempting to avail ourselves of the benefits of the treaty with Peru, until our government obtains some concessions from Brazil. That the navigation of the Amazon would greatly increase the revenues of Brazil is manifest, since we could hardly expect that she would admit our exports into that river duty free. Our Minister at Rio Janeiro should be specially instructed to persevere in his efforts to negotiate a treaty with Brazil, which would open the river to us on favorable terms.

Brazil, in violation of the well-settled doctrine of International Law, "that no nation, holding the mouth of a river, has a right to bar the way to market of a nation holding higher up, or to prevent that nation's trade and intercourse with whom she will by a great highway common to both," has refused to open the river to Peru, Bolivia, or any other nation; and has entered into a contract with one De Souza, giving him the exclusive privilege of navigating the river for the next thirty years, giving him a bonus of \$80,000 per annum. Souza contracts to put six steamers on the Amazon, the first trip of which is to be made in May, 1854. Such are the stringent terms of the contract, that it is very doubtful whether he will be able to comply with them; but it will delay the action of our government until he fails, which will most probably be the result.

We have thus endeavored to condense for the readers of the *REVIEW* the more important portions of Lieut. Herndon's valuable and exceedingly interesting work; but we must advise the reader to read the work itself, as every page is filled with absorbing details.

### Art. III.—THE TELEGRAPH.

(Continued.)

BUT why multiply instances of a seemingly trifling character, in which the character of the telegraph is the more strikingly visible? \* We have not yet begun to appreciate this agent as

\*Another purpose which electro-magnetism is made to serve, consists in the invention of an apparatus for the preservation of human life on railroads. With the multiplicity of railroads, there will be naturally an augmentation of the risks of accident; and in the United States the national proclivity is to construct in haste, always with an eye to cheapness, and without those expensive guards which abroad render the railroad systems much more secure. The apparatus just invented is thus described in the *Philadelphia Ledger*:

"AN EXCELLENT APPARATUS FOR THE PREVENTION OF RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.—Yesterday we witnessed the operation of a model of a 'Railroad Drawbridge and Switch Safety Telegraph,' invented by William C. McRea, of this city. The invention consists in the arrangement of a galvanic battery and circuit, in such a manner that the engineer of a train of cars may, upon the train approaching a drawbridge or switch, be advised with certainty of the position of the draw or switch, in time to prevent all danger in case of their being so placed that the train cannot with safety pass. It is also intended to advise the engineer or conductor of one train as to the position of an approaching train, and by which means collisions will certainly be prevented.

"The model which we saw illustrates the means by which accidents may be prevented at drawbridges, by means of extending a wire across the draw of a bridge, to a safe distance from the draw on each side, and these connecting to an insulated rail on the track.

"When a train of cars approaches the bridge on either side, so that the wheels from which wires or other metallic substance are connected with an electro-

posterity will appreciate it, because it does not possess the external features which should distinguish it from a mere novelty, such as are exhibited by many inventions infinitely inferior to it in every respect. The telegraph is not pretentious. What is it, indeed, as it appears to the eye? A series of rough and uncouth posts studded along our railroad tracks; crossed by wires, sometimes two in number, sometimes half a dozen. It has a marked resemblance to nothing, and is certainly forbidding, viewed in the light of utility. It stretches along through swamps and over mountains, penetrates forests, and leaps rivulets and ravines; now hid by the summer foliage; now nude, and ghastly, and skeleton-like, with the snows and frosts of winter partially enrobing it. It attracts our attention, as we whirl along in the railroad car, just as we would recognize a series of finger-posts—nothing more. And as we enter the environs of cities, we see the wires encumbered with the wrecks of children's kites, dangling in mid-air, and flapping with the breeze. We are amused, pass on, and rivet our attention on something else. The telegraph, as we are permitted to regard it, inspires no profound emotions. There is nothing in the knotted, bark-clad uprights, and mile-spun wires, to arouse thought in the breasts of the millions, or sublime reflections in the minds even of the thousands. What of life it has is hidden away; and the tabernacle of its heart and lungs is a novelty to the curious, which they are not permitted to examine. Nor is the telegraph

magnet, which is to be placed upon the locomotive, touch the track at the place where the wire is so connected, if the draw is closed a circuit will be completed, and the electro-magnet being in the circuit, will cause the movement of a lever, which sets in motion an alarm. When the wheels of the cars shall have passed the place in the track where the wire is connected, the circuit is again broken, and the lever falls into its former position.

"If the draw of the bridge be open, when the train approaches, the circuit will not be closed in consequence of a part of the circuit being separated at the draw, and no effect will be produced upon the electro-magnet; consequently, the bell will not ring, by which the engineer of the train may know that the draw is open, in sufficient time to prevent all danger.

"It will be readily seen that the same will apply to switches, as the displacing of a switch may be made to operate in the same manner as the opening of the draw. By extending the wire from one switch to another, where it is usual for trains to meet and pass each other, the same apparatus which is affixed on the engine will serve to notify the engineer or conductor of one train as to whether the train which they expect to meet has passed a given point. By this means, collisions of trains will be with certainty prevented.

"One of the best features which we observe in the invention is, that in case anything in connection with the machinery to be used should, by any neglect on the part of those employed by the railroad company, or by any other means, get out of order, the worst that can possibly happen, would be the stopping of the train for a moment, until it could be ascertained what was wrong, thereby avoiding the possibility of danger to life or property.

"The attention of railroad directors and superintendents should be directed to this apparatus, as it certainly appears to be the best mechanical method for supplying the requisite signals yet invented."



clamorous. We may hear it breathe, listen to the pulsations of its mechanism; but we pause in vain to catch any other sound when it addresses its language to the four corners of the earth; the medium is a dark, mysterious, vague tongue; potent as it is eloquent, yet voiceless as the heralds of heaven, when they go out with the decrees of the Immutable. Like them, this terrestrial messenger performs its mission without clamor, without the visible concert of a supreme power, whether God or man. Like them, this courier cleaves space in silence; and, darting from zone to zone, from land to land, commutes, in its volitive flight, all time, by the mere effort of a directing will.

The monetary exchanges of the world could not dispense with the telegraph. It has become a necessary agent in commercial pursuits, a counsellor in financial projects, and a special envoy in political, domestic, and social affairs. It is a promoter of peace, a missionary of religion, a disturber to sanguinary slumbers and war. Nations consult it ere they buckle on the sword; and national comity and the equilibrium of peace are maintained by the part it is made to play in the adjustment of great national questions. Governments cherish it who seek tranquillity, and aim to augment their prosperity. Tyrants regard it as an engine calculated to thwart their will, and tremblingly fear it on their thrones. Guilt, whether in high life or low—in politics or in social circles—in the civic system or martial constitution—guilt of every shade and degree is brought to reflect, and perhaps often to shrink from the perpetration of deeds which this many-mouthed trumpeter would divulge to greedy ears far and near. Crime does not stalk at large with its customary bold front when the remembrance of this swift-footed tale-bearer and accuser overtakes it. "It is due to say," writes the Vienna correspondent of the *London Chronicle*, "that Austria feels a greater degree of security against another rising of her subjects, in the fact that she possesses and controls an extensive system of telegraphy, than she would feel if surrounded by a well-organized army in her pay of ten times the magnitude of the military subjects and hirelings she has now at command." Prior to the establishment of the telegraph in Europe, the legions of the Turk could have descended upon the dominions of Austria, or France upon Italy, or England upon Spain, or Russia upon Prussia, before intelligence of the fact could have borne warning, and allowed time for preparation by either for the inhospitable reception of the other. Innumerable instances might be recited from history of bloody and exterminating wars having been provoked or occasioned by the failure of couriers in their missions, and the want of facilities for the dispatch of intelligence in extraordinary emergencies." Marque, a French statist, is of opinion that a twentieth of all the sanguinary conflicts that have

ensued between the nations of Europe, from the tenth to the eighteenth century, have resulted from this cause. He adduces instances, and describes the peculiar circumstances of each. "Without doubt," he concludes, "had the means of communication among nations been anything like those even of the eighteenth century, in the time of the Crusades, Christianity would now have a bulwark in the East powerful enough to overawe and hold in subjection all the empires of Asia." The descent of a nation upon nation could not at present take place without the intelligence of hostile intentions being known everywhere almost simultaneously with the first indication of preparation. This fact is more influential in deterring aggression on the part of tyrants, than any considerations of magnanimity or conscientious promptings of forbearance. Crime, as we have said, shrinks from this terrible accuser. Quite recently a German was arrested on board a packet ship in the port of New-York, which had already weighed anchor, and was about putting to sea, bound for Liverpool. He had left Baltimore the day previously, with the suspicion tracking him that he was a murderer. "But," exclaimed the appalled wretch, addressing the officer, "how should you know that I came to New-York—that I am the person you seek? I have not stopped an hour on the way, but have come right through. Besides, I left there at midnight, six hours before people were stirring this morning." "You forget," replied the officer; "the telegraph travels faster than you do." "Ah! the telegraph. Had I thought of that——" And a time *will* arrive when criminals will think of it—yea, be influenced to desist from many a deed of guilt, which they would otherwise recklessly commit. A powerful check will be thus introduced, morally superior to the terms which the laws, enforced by the mere exercise of a police system unaided by this auxiliary, can otherwise produce.

Regarded in another light, the field of utility the telegraph is destined to occupy is boundless. In operating to facilitate commerce and international intercourse, the sphere of its diverse duties will be to disseminate truth, to reform religious abuses, to remodel social systems, to remove barriers to evangelization, to mitigate sectarian evils, to exterminate chronic prejudices, and to underlay the whole physical structure of society with a basis of peace, rendered durable by the cements of the arts and sciences.

The career of mankind is progress, and its destiny happiness. Whatever interposes to counteract progress, or to misshape this destiny, is the result of man's own actions, springing from errors in his political organization or laxity in his morals. The study of physiology and the problems of life is a soothing, but sometimes mournful occupation. Reflection in summing up the past, and imagination in picturing the future, have voluminous mate-

rial for answering the question whether we have kept pace with the inevitable design of the Almighty, or have disregarded the natural laws, manifested in all being, for our animal and eternal welfare. Among the purposes of the great design is, to multiply our species; another, to cultivate peace; another, to increase prosperity; another, to generalize knowledge; another, to promote Christianity; another, to establish a unity of human action, based on a foundation of the unity of all languages. The confounding of tongues, in the first instance, was for a wise purpose, no doubt; but that the Creator intended that we should live as "strangers to each other" for all time, would be a deduction as unwise as antagonistical to revelation. We are commanded to go forth—to plant in every vineyard—to preach the Gospel in every land—to erect the monuments of industry, commerce, and intercourse among each other, wherever the offspring of man has obtained a foothold. Every instinct of reason teaches us that the earth was created and mantled for our subsistence; that no single spot or spots were to be our habitation; that the original unity of language would tend to a close and degenerating affinity; that its confusion would sunder the ties of social relationship, drive men forth as wanderers, and compel the ordination of communities; that after a period, in obedience to the great design, we should draw near to each other again, but not until the magnitude of the wonders of Providence, and the extent of the bounties he had prepared for us, had in some measure been revealed to our senses; that, in accordance with these laws, we have moved on in the spheres of our duties and in the realization of our happiness. It is a question, then, easily answered in the affirmative, whether the discovery of the electric telegraph was not made at a period most fortunate for benefiting man, and extending the Divine word. Certainly no preceding age or generation has afforded equal facilities to this end—no epoch has been so fruitful of the requisites. Civilization has knocked at the doors of the last of the insulated empires; true, religious worship, like sweet incense, ascends to heaven in the wildernesses of Asia, and the deserts of Africa; and commercial intercourse has just assumed the sceptre of the world. Now the telegraph is invited to complete what has been so auspiciously begun—it is required to bring nations into hourly conference—to assimilate all languages to a common understanding.

Let us be understood. We do not suppose that the feat will be a transfusion of tongues into a common language—that Turk and Hottentot will forget their vernacular, and barter and exchange in flippant French or prosy English. We mean that the collateral results will be the same—that, in effect, the Coptic will be as familiar to the ears of the Celt as the Usbec will be to the Anglo-Saxon. In effect, the English, the French, the Ger-

man languages, are the same in the countries in which they respectively prevail. New-York is made up of a population of distinct national elements. Society there is an admixture of English, French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, and other languages. Yet, were it purely a community of either of these tongues, could it exist in a freer state of harmony—business prosper on a larger scale, or be established on a firmer basis—security to life and property be better attended—religion have a less obstructed field in which to operate—or the inculcation of knowledge meet with fewer philological drawbacks? Intercourse has assimilated national features, modified prejudices, and familiarized the languages of each to the understanding of the others.

Assuming, on the uncertain data of geographers, that the population of the globe is seven hundred and forty millions, what, we ask, is the amount of social, and political, and commercial intercourse among them? Almost the whole of Eastern Asia, with its three hundred millions, has been, to the present time, closed against the advances of the rest of the world, and encourages but a limited exchange of commodities and sentiments at home. Central Asia, in addition to this, is peopled with races and tribes, peculiar for nothing more than their nomadic customs, their freedom from governmental restraints, their fierceness, and their ignorance. Africa has not even been explored. Europe has barely attained the scale of enlightenment; and the races of America know as little of each other, as do the population of the Azores of the inhabitants of the Arctic Seas. And, multiplying our inquiries, we discover that civilization occupies a spot on the earth's surface not larger than one of those patches, which here and there dot the ocean, designated on our maps as islands. Nay, such as profess Christianity might be conveniently gathered within the Valley of the Mississippi, and yet would not overstock it. Everywhere else, scattered over this terrestrial paradise, ignorance and idolatry are king. The fact, in its ulterior bearings, does not impress us with the force it should. Is it not evident, that in order to overcome the prejudices of nations, cause them to abandon their non-productive modes of life, their superstitions, their idolatries, instil into them habits of industry, and raise them to a parity in knowledge and general refinement with ourselves, we must first of all invent a means to reach their defects, which can only be done through a medium of language? Let us see how far we have progressed in this way. The Caucasian race is composed of fourteen distinct families, each of which speaks a different dialect; which dialect, frequently, is split into several tongues and *patois*. We have thus, probably, one hundred and fifty dialects of a single race—how many subdivisions, has never been ascertained. The Mongols



present us with three great families, with divisions and subdivisions of dialect. Next we have the Malay race, and their dialects; and finally, the Negro race, and their dialects. On the confusion of tongues, at the building of the Tower of Babel, the families of the various tribes separated, scattered, and founded communities—these communities empires. The language of each family, peculiar then in itself, followed them; and as population increased and spread, the mother tongue became incorporated with the mother tongue of another tribe, and thus were formed dialects. By the same process, families, withdrawing and forming a community in themselves, caused a subdivision of tongues; and thus the process of enlarging a language, and at the same time multiplying the genera, has gone on. In point of numbers, the Caucasian race has been estimated at 380,000,000; the Mongolian, at 250,000,000; the Malayan, at 20,000,000; the African, at 90,000,000; and the American aboriginal, at 10,000,000. Among the Caucasian race, free intercourse is kept up by less than two-thirds the aggregate families. Three-fourths are still in a state of barbarism, idolatry, and brutal ignorance; or live without any visible forms of government, are in hostility one community or family with another, are predatory in their habits, idle in their pursuits, grossly dissipated, and know nothing of the principles of commerce, or even of the conventionalities of traffic.\* The Mongol race, as a whole, is degraded below the lowest classes or tribes of the Caucasian race. Ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, prevail among them. They have established governments; but such governments as are a disgrace to humanity, rather than a redeeming feature in their political organization. Their traffic is conducted on no system: it partakes of the character of the trade of savages; but little more enlightened in principle or detail. The Malayan race is distinguished for its barbarity, its ferocity, its godlessness, its licenses in morals, and its hatred of the Caucasian race. Its commerce is a series of depredations and thefts, and its government is based upon no code but that which power sets up for itself over weakness. Its religion is idolatry, and has not the merit even of consistency. Of the African and American races, it need only be said, that their ignorance is only equalled by their degeneracy; their superstitions by their fidelity to pagan rites; their honesty by their superb disdain of labor; and their commerce by their total want of enterprise. So that, to the fourth part of the Caucasian race alone, can

\* I have here adopted an estimate which may admit of dispute:—"Among the Catholic, Greek, and Protestant population, full 130,000,000 out of their whole number, 228,000,000, certainly do not deserve a higher rank. We are considering man, in this view, individually as well as collectively; morally as well as physically; socially as well as politically. The facts may be startling, but they will bear the closest scrutiny."—MALTHUS.

we ascribe the benefits which have been already bestowed upon humanity. By their energy and indomitable perseverance, the lights of truth and civilization have been made to dawn on many a darkened land; but there is still work to perform, formidable beyond precedent.

We have stated, on other authority, that civilization, and the arts of peace and the sciences, have been fostered and extended by one-fourth, or 98,000,000, of the Caucasian race. This progress, so far, has been to evangelize or Christianize 228,000,000 inclusive, out of an aggregate population for the world, of 740,000,000. This evangelization has been confined almost entirely to the Caucasian race; but let it not be inferred that more than one-fourth, or 98,000,000, of the 228,000,000 claiming to be Christianized, are in reality enlightened. We proceed to classify, as follows, according to another estimate:—

	Enlightened.	Superstitious or Idolatrous.	Total Population.
Catholics .....	26,000,000	90,000,000	
Greek .....	10,000,000	60,000,000	
Protestant .....	35,000,000	7,000,000	
	<hr/> 71,000,000	<hr/> 157,000,000	
Judaism .....	1,000,000	7,000,000	
Mohammedanism .....	—	120,000,000	
Brahminism .....	—	90,000,000	
Schamanism .....	—	60,000,000	
Buddhism .....	—	130,000,000	
Fetichism .....	—	100,000,000	
Nondescript .....	—	4,000,000	
	<hr/> 72,000,000	<hr/> 668,000,000	
		<hr/> 72,000,000	
		<hr/> 740,000,000	<hr/> 740,000,000
Caucasian .....			380,000,000
Mongolian .....			250,000,000
African .....			80,000,000
Malayan .....			20,000,000
American .....			10,000,000
			<hr/> 740,000,000

Disregarding one part of this estimate, and taking the Catholic, Protestant, and Greek population, amounting to 228,000,000, as the evangelized portion of the Caucasian race, which numbers 380,000,000; and conferring upon that portion the well-earned title of Reformers of the Age, we perceive that the myriads to which they are still opposed exceed the startling aggregate of 500,000,000 souls. What shall enlighten these enormous multitudes, and inspire them with sentiments of revealed truth, and habits of industry and frugality, if not conquests of peace or decimation by the sword? And if by either, the telegraph will

be an important medium or auxiliary. Its mission may be to announce warlike bulletins, communicate military orders, or regulate army movements; and its mission may be to bring pagan countries into closer proximity with the enlightened Caucasian race, by hourly conferences on the state of trade, in communicating uncommon events, or transmitting mercantile orders from continent to continent—all the while, and in either case, *assimilating all languages to a common understanding*, and engendering a concordance of national sympathies.

When once the telegraph has triumphed over the difficulties of language, it will have brought adverse nations into familiar contact. Human experience, and the history of human existence, combine to prove the consequences of such contact. The predominating features of character in a people, when exerted in opposition to the weaker national traits of another, will ultimately acquire paramount sway, and influence to good or evil. We have living and recorded examples in point. The influence of the enlightened governments of Europe on the semi-civilized dynasties of Russia and Turkey has operated to break down their prejudices, and to inspire them with purer sentiments, and a more active zeal in that which appertains to human happiness, than would have resulted from any inbred convictions of their own. When once the inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean began to understand each other, external restraints gave way; extensive intercourse ensued; the arts began to flourish; barter and exchange, at first limited to local arenas, begot external commerce; and universal prosperity attended their career. The influence on surrounding nations was speedily manifested in their abandonment of profitless pursuits, and in engaging in more wholesome employments. As barrier after barrier gave way before the onward march of civilized empire, cities arose even on barren rocks, and wealth flowed as in a stream into their capacious coffers. And now the commotion was felt beyond the Caucasus, the Black Sea, and the Baltic; and the hordes of a hardier people poured forward, burying under their heel the kingdoms that had so rapidly risen to power and opulence, as by magic, or the enchanter's wand. The civilization of the Mediterranean had set an example to the world, which the robust, courageous, and enterprising families of the North were not slow to profit by. The Phœnicians lost the empire of the sea; Athens rivalled Tyre; a Grecian city ruled over conquered Egypt; Carthage submitted to Rome; and Europe seized the sceptre of both hemispheres. We can very well, then, foresee what results will flow from the universal establishment of the telegraph, after the removal of philological prejudices. Contact on the part of the enlightened Caucasian

race with the pagan races will be a mortal stab to their political relations and domestic adolescence. Disenthralment from vices, and governmental restraints, which are imposed by priestcraft or tyranny, and which are the more rigid because they are founded in bigotry or a jealousy of power, is no light labor. And among the nations to whom the hand of fellowship is extended, none have ever existed that have rivalled them in the exclusiveness or ferocity of their natures. The Japanese would not barter his isolation and repose for all the grandeur and wealth of the universe. The indolent felicity of the Chinese is more welcome to him than national integrity, if that is to be maintained at the cost of war. The Algerine would not abandon his piratical pursuits for all the prospective enjoyments of paradise. The Thug would readily exchange a limb for the liberty of cutting a throat. And so we might go on, enumerating the national proclivities and individual prejudices of the people with whom we have yet to deal, and whose superstitions, vices, and social organizations, contact, and example, or the ultimatum of the sword, must eventually break up. But we say again, we must rely upon commerce, of which the telegraph is an element, to accomplish this, rather than on pulpit eloquence, polemical arguments, or missionary perseverance. These may follow, but they can never successfully precede. Nor will the sword do the work more effectually. Diplomacy will utterly fail. Diplomacy and the sword go together. And whence do they arise? They would, in this instance, proceed from governments as hostile to each other—from a people of one race with as strong antipathies to each other, as can possibly distinguish the people against whom the engines of stratagem or carnage could be directed. From democratic governments, elective aristocracies, democratic monarchies, aristocratical monarchies, absolute monarchies, anarchies, ochtocracies, despotisms, and theocracies; Catholicism against Protestantism, and Greek against both; one State in a federation divided against another; two great parties in political conflict, and isms, like cancers, gnawing into each; Papal theocracy against Papal democracy; Presbyterianism against Methodism, and Episcopacy snarling at each. Why, if such *reforming* influences were at once, or gradually, to be poured upon paganism and idolatry, the doors would be shut upon civilization forever. The avalanche would prove a curse, not a blessing. "Already," writes a missionary of the Protestant faith, "the Popish anti-Christ begins to manifest its arrogance here." And here the first stone is thrown towards fomenting a brawl, and the Hindoo is expected to stand by, take part on both sides, and believe in both religions. Now, commerce knows no religion but God and Christ; sects it abominates;



schismatics it utterly repudiates. It conquers, not for the purpose of establishing demoralizing empires; not for any particular union of industry against another; not for the propagation of a set of political doctrines in enmity to a counter series; not for the welfare of a class opposed to the interests of a larger. These are not the characteristics of commerce; its attributes are lofty, equitable, and just in all things, in all aspects and in all tendencies. Its aim is peace, its end is happiness.

But we are admonished to draw our paper to a close. We shall conclude, therefore, by referring to the recent attempt to establish the telegraph in China. The effort has been made by Dr. D. J. Macgowan, formerly of New-York. He has been endeavoring to instruct Chinese pupils in the elements of abstract philosophy, with the view, through them, of inducing the government to patronize the undertaking he contemplates. We have before us a pamphlet by him, printed in the Chinese language, in which he explains the properties of electricity, galvanism, and magnetism—subjects of knowledge about which the natives are profoundly ignorant. He complains of the difficulty of forming an expressive nomenclature, but adds, that by means of the Manchoo Alphabet, and "about eighteen Chinese symbols," the necessary characters of the fifty thousand in the Chinese vocabulary may be readily explained on the telegraph dial-plate. Dr. Macgowan has ingeniously interwoven the elements of a useful science with those of the religious prejudices of the natives. "The decomposing power of the galvanic battery is explained for the purpose of showing the fallacy of so much of their philosophy and mythology as is connected with the theory of the Five Elements; reference being also made to facts in astronomy, optics, chemistry, and anatomy, which in like manner scatter to the winds their notions relative to planets, colors, metals, and viscera, in which the Chinese enumerate five of each." The excessive veneration of the Chinese for antique doctrines and theories is one of the principal difficulties which meet the reformer on every hand. "Scarcely less startling than electricity," continues Dr. Macgowan, "to a Chinese philosopher, is the position assumed respecting the relative knowledge of ancients and moderns. It is maintained that, inasmuch as the human race is above two thousand years older than in the time of Confucius and Mencius, and still more venerable compared with the remote period of Yau and Shun, accumulated years and experience necessarily render the opinions of the present age of extreme value, because of its ripe maturity." Unless these prejudices are lessened or wholly removed, all attempts to instruct the Chinese in modern sciences must utterly fail. Dr. Macgowan adds, virtually con-

firming the hypothesis we have just advanced, "In efforts for the evangelization of China, it should be remembered that it is not idolatry and Buddhism with which we have mainly to contend, but with materialism and atheism, strongly posted in the minds of the literati, whose influence over the masses is unbounded. Hence the necessity which exists for a peculiar class of works, in which, by aid of modern science, the unsoundness of their own philosophy may be demonstrated, and some of the elementary truths of Christianity made evident. Yet it is not the admirable treatises of a Paley nor of a Chalmers that is now needed, but such as will teach the physical sciences in their connection with natural theology, care being taken that, while the irrefragable arguments they afford of the existence and attributes of God, and the reasonableness of the Christian religion, are made clear, they should not be so burdened with the theological argument as to hinder their employment as textbooks on the subjects of which they treat." Dr. Macgowan's essay on the telegraph teaches Christianity as opposed to materialism; the utility of modern science as compared with ancient conservatism in philosophy; and the pre-eminence of modern knowledge over the mythological and metaphysical notions the Chinese possess. The religious part of the essay, which embraces the philosophical diagrams, with their explanations, is founded on three extracts from native authors: 1. "Heaven only is one God;" 2. "All mankind are brethren," from a disciple of Confucius; 3. "How delightful to have a friend from afar," from the Sage himself. The war of dynasties in the Celestial Empire, whether it terminates in favor of the insurgents or the imperial power, will have occurred for good. Enlightened Caucasian pioneers have, owing to a relaxation of the rigid rules of national exclusiveness, consequent on the conflict, been enabled to penetrate unmolested into the interior of the empire; and have established a basis of trade and intercourse that will operate to bring the natives and Europeans into permanent and friendly juxtaposition. "When once," says a journalist, "the Caucasian race sets foot in China, the Mongol empire of the East will have passed forever from it."

(To be completed in our next, with full STATISTICS of the Telegraph in all countries.)

---

## Art. IV.—MODERN PHILANTHROPY AND NEGRO SLAVERY.

[Some months ago we furnished in the *Review* a paper upon Slavery, which took what we called the Northern view of this subject, and was from the pen of Dr. Chickering, of Massachusetts. This paper gave offence to many of our Southern readers, and we were attacked in more than one quarter for exhibiting decided tendencies towards abolitionism and free-soilism. The ridiculous charge, of course, scarcely attracted our notice. No one, however, can object to the insertion of the annexed paper, prepared by a Northern gentleman, and sent to us for publication, nor accuse us of acting in other than the fairest manner, even towards the enemies of the South and our own. If the abolitionists will continue to agitate this subject of slavery, they must not be surprised if they are paid back in kind. They are, however, a body of which the South should stand in little apprehension now, since the current of Northern sentiment has been setting so decidedly against them within the last year or two. It is probable that there will be repose for a long time to come.]

LET us endeavor to ascertain what degree of candor or honesty attaches to those philanthropic professions which distinguish the movements of the so-called reformers of our day. If they proceed from mistaken views, though prompted by conscientious motives, the insanity of one class and fierce invectives of the other should receive that consideration which misdirected devotion may at all times command. If, on the contrary, a mercenary commerce is made of the virtues, and sanctity a cloak for the vilest of human hypocrisies, the community should not rest contented with a mere mental reprobation of their proceedings. This is a virtual encouragement to crime, under whatever aspect it presents itself, whether stamped with the sanction of the pulpit, or branded with the opprobrium of a judicial tribunal. And what action, the reader might exclaim, should community take to arrest an evil, such as unfolds itself in the guise of ranting atheists, law-breaking abolitionists, and crazy utilitarians? We do not believe that, in the economy of government, institutions may be framed to meet certain emergencies and not others—that society is so impoverished of expedients as to lack means and measures for every social and civil requirement. But to our inquiries.

Miss Dix, in her appeal to Congress for aid to erect an institution for the insane of the United States, reveals many ghastly features of the mock-humanity of the propagators of those isms which distract the country. She says, (page 7 of her Memorial): "I have myself seen in these United States, destitute of appropriate care and attention, more than nine thousand idiots, epileptics, and insane; and of this vast and most miserable company, sought out in jails, in poor-houses, and in private dwellings, there have been hundreds, nay, thousands, bound with galling chains, bowed beneath fetters and heavy iron balls, attached to drag

chains, lacerated with ropes, scourged with rods, and terrified beneath storms of profane execrations and cruel blows; now subject to gibes, and scorn, and tormenting tricks—now abandoned to the most loathsome necessities, or subject to the vilest and most outrageous violations.” The South undoubtedly has much of the sin here charged against society to answer for; but it does not claim to overflow with the milk of human kindness, and may be spared the reproaches levelled at those who make their humanity a boast. Miss Dix, although she evidently desires to treat the fact with impartiality, describes no such barbarities as characteristic of the South, which she depicts as existing in the North. Hear her: “In New-Hampshire, on the opening of the hospital for the reception of patients in 1842, many were removed from cages, small, unventilated cells in poor-houses, private houses, and the dungeons of the county jails. Some bore the marks of blows, \* \* \* were badly frozen, so as to be maimed for life. In B., a furious maniac confined in jail; \* \* \* a heap of filthy straw in one corner served for a bed; \* \* \* food was introduced through a small aperture, called a slit, in the wall. \* \* \* In P., nine insane men and women exposed to neglect and every species of injurious treatment; several chained; some in pens, or stalls in the barn, and treated less kindly than the brute beasts in their vicinity. \* \* \* One insane woman was confined all winter in a jail, without fire; and from the severity of the cold, and her fixed posture, her feet were so much injured that it was deemed necessary to amputate them at the ankle. Another female was confined in a garret, where, from the lowness of the roof and her restrained position, she grew double, and is now obliged to walk with her hands as well as her feet upon the floor.” In another place, “a man was confined in a cellar for many years without clothing”—kept “crouching in a heap of wet straw;” \* \* \* “another, in a similar condition, is chained in an out-building;” another was “chained to the floor in an out-building, glad to pick the bones thrown into his kennel, like a beast.” This case was reported to the legislature in 1832, and drew from a committee appointed by that body a report, abounding with withering rebukes, levelled at the heartlessness of those having the custody of maniacs, whether persons in private life or in public office; yet fourteen years afterwards, (1846,) the wretch was still an inmate of his pen, picking bones, and holding up, in his person and condition, to everlasting infamy, the unrighteousness of the people for whose charity he had become a supplicant. We continue our epitome from Miss Dix; but first let us present the reader with the subjoined extract from a report of the trustees of the New-Hampshire Hospital. Can chattel slavery in the South, exposed to the human gaze in its worst form, present anything so revolting as the pic-



ture of degradation here afforded? The report of the trustees says: "In eight of the twenty-four towns of Merrimack County, having an aggregate population of 1,200, there are eighteen insane paupers, part supported upon the town farms, and part set up and bid off at auction, from year to year, to be kept and maintained by the lowest bidder," who works him as he does his horses, and feeds him, alas! and clothes him, too, with less attention to comfort than the care he bestows upon his cattle. Miss Dix says: "According to the data afforded above, [she quotes this report in part,] there must be in the State several hundred insane, supported on the poor-farms, or put up at auction, annually." She adds: "In Vermont, the same neglects, ignorance, and sometimes brutal severity," prevail. "In the Eighth Annual Report of the Vermont Hospital for 1844, is the following record:—One case was brought to the hospital of a man who had been insane more than twelve years. During the four years previous to his admission he had not worn any article of clothing, and had been caged in a cellar, without feeling the influence of a fire. A nest of straw was his only bed and covering. His keeper (humane man!) thought it necessary to have an iron collar riveted about his neck," which being removed when he was taken to the hospital, and being otherwise differently treated, he was fast recovering his reason. "Another man had been sold to the lowest bidder. He had been for many years caged, and his feet were so badly frozen that he lost his toes." He had been supposed to be insane for thirty years; yet, when treated more in accordance with Christian charity, neither his cage nor his chains were deemed necessary, for he wholly recovered from his insanity and the brutality to which he had been subjected. "Another patient, a woman, sixty-one years of age, was taken to the hospital. She had been confined for several years in a half-subterranean cage," being "a cave excavated on the side of a hill near the house, and straw thrown in for a bed. No warmth was admitted, save what the changing seasons supplied." In Massachusetts we trace a repetition of like facts. "In 1841 and 1842," says Miss D., "I traced, personally, the condition of more than five hundred insane men and women in Massachusetts wholly destitute of appropriate care!" Her description of the treatment of these patients carries us back to the reign of heathenism, for it cannot apply to an age or a people pretending to civilization. Two or three cases must suffice. "In a cage, built under a wood-shed, fully exposed to all passers upon the public road, was a miserable, insane man, partially enveloped in a torn coverlet." This was his sole fire in winter. Straw was given him for a bed once a week. "In one county jail alone there were twenty-eight insane persons wholly neglected. At another poor-house, I found three confined in

stalls in an out-building." In another out-house, Miss D. found "a woman confined in a room without a vestige of furniture, no fire, and not even clothes to her back. She sat crouched upon the floor, shivering with the intense cold." Distant from another poor-house a few rods "was a small wooden building, constructed of plank, affording a single room. This was unfurnished, save with a bundle of straw. The occupant of this comfortless abode was a young man, \* \* \* chained." One end of the chain was attached to a staple in the floor, the other to an iron collar round the young man's neck. Miss Dix gives it as her deliberate opinion, that cruelty prevents a recovery of reason in ninety-nine cases in a hundred. If this be so, Massachusetts and all New-England would do well to embark in an enterprise of humanity at home before expending their charities and philanthropies for worthless objects abroad. In one place, Miss D. was led to a cavern in which a lunatic was chained. "My husband," said the wife of the warm-hearted keeper! "in winter, rakes out sometimes, of a morning, half a bushel of frost, and yet he (the lunatic) never freezes!" The wretched man had already passed three years in this dreadful abode. Let it be remembered, that these few cases cited are not selected for their extra hard-favored features. They are taken at random from the list, which, according to Miss Dix's statement, embraces between eight and nine thousand of a similar character which she has visited; and how many there may be in the North, in New-England, which have escaped her, wearing features even more horrifying, none can tell. One case in point we shall here introduce. A lunatic is confined, a few miles from Boston, (vide Miss Dix's Memorial,) in an out-building, without fire in winter, and himself barely covered with apparel. This poor creature is among strangers, is fed like a wild beast in a den, and never enjoys half the kindness which his keeper (if kindness he can manifest) heaps upon his dogs. The keeper receives a per diem, or monthly allowance, from the cousin of the demented man for his maintenance; but there all care for him stops. And who is this cousin? A merchant; a man whose name is extensively known on 'Change; one whose fair reputation is an incentive to every generous deed; one who holds his crazy cousin's property in trust; and one whose subscriptions to the anti-slavery cause outswell the sums ever subscribed by the fiercest fanatic among that sect. Let this announcement suffice for comment.

"Fifty thousand Africans," writes Mr. Tod, our Minister at the Court of Rio Janeiro, "are annually imported into Brazil, and sold as slaves for life." It is a curious and somewhat paradoxical fact, that while those who rank themselves under the abolition and woman's rights banners are so clamorous about the institution of the South, they should be so negligent of the

Brazilian slave-trade, the moral enormity of which is so scandalous to Christendom. Why this apparent antagonism of principle? How shall we reconcile this parody on honesty with honesty itself? There is a singular harmony in the mechanism of this social combination with the movements of like social combinations in England. "When Richelieu took snuff," said Walpole, "there was a time when Mazarin would sneeze;" apparently it is so between the abolition sympathizers on both sides of the great water. Perhaps a glance at the prices current lists of some of the Manchester and Northern mill-owners may throw light on the seeming disinclination of abolitionists to anathematize the slave traffic *outside* the United States. These prices current lists, and the commerce and navigation report issued annually from the Treasury Department at Washington, satisfy us of two things: first, that the mills of Manchester, (England,) and many of the mills in this country, manufacture certain cotton goods peculiarly adapted for the African coast trade; secondly, that, so far as the United States is concerned, many of these goods are shipped to Brazil, where they are not needed for consumption, and do not enter into the legitimate Brazilian foreign or domestic trade. That similar kinds of merchandise are shipped from England to Brazil, and are subsequently re-shipped to Africa, and there exchanged for negroes, who are conveyed to Cuba and to the Brazilian coasts, recent discoveries\* attest, if more were wanting than the mere fact that the very kinds of goods *not* wanted in Brazil, and *are* wanted on the West Coast of Africa, are exported to the former place, and not to the latter country. All this would indicate, by liberal rendering, that abolition manufacturers and abolition merchants in England and the United States supply the means (the merchandise) by which the slave traffic is continued, and scores of thousands of negroes are torn from their homes in Africa annually to stock the plantations of Cuba, the Llanas of Brazil, and the cane-fields of the British West India planter—although, instead of having sufficient honesty to acknowledge the crime, by exporting their goods direct to Africa, they cover their iniquity by making Brazil the *entrepôt*. But the reader must not infer that these traffickers are willing to lose the ultimate, which is the principal, profit of such transactions—we mean the final destination and exchange of the goods—not they. New-England supplies the vessels and the intermediate agents, not only for the mills and factories, the merchants and speculators of the North, but for their brethren in absolutism and philanthropy in Manchester and London, who respectively fill their pockets with the gold coined from the negro's happiness and his blood, while,

\* See Consul Slocum's dispatches to the State Department, 1842 to 1845.

with pious lips, they pour forth invocations to the God of Justice to sweep desolation over the land which fosters the negro in the South. It is our purpose to make no statement in this paper which we cannot substantiate by reference to living testimony, or to official publications. Senate Document, (marked Executive Doc., No. 6, 31st Cong., 2d Session,) furnishes us with the annexed information:—

*List of Vessels engaged in the Slave-Trade, which cleared for the Coast of Africa from the Brazilian Territories, for the Years respectively annexed.*

Years.	Total No.	No. to each State.		Where belonging.
1845 .....	16.....	6	to	Massachusetts.
		3	to	New-York.
		1	to	Rhode Island.
		1	to	Maryland.
		1	to	Maine.
		2	to	Pennsylvania.
		2		Unknown.
1846.....	15.....	6	to	Massachusetts.
		5	to	New-York.
		1	to	Connecticut.
		1	to	Florida.
		1	to	Maryland.
		1	to	Maine.
1847 to 1850.....	.....	9-10ths	to	N. Y., Phila., and Boston.

Shall we look to these figures and to the prices current lists of our exporting merchants, engaged in the Brazilian trade, for the explanation, which we otherwise seek in vain, why our abolitionists are so exceeding diffident in branding the African slave-trade outside of the United States? Occasionally, indeed, a British peer will rise in Parliament, and "institute an inquiry," to which "Lord So-and-So replies, satisfying his lordship that British vigilance had in no wise relaxed;" or, by way of keeping up a vibratory sympathy between the continents, the question may originally be propounded in anti-slavery convention here; but it cannot be disguised that the abolitionist and woman's rights reformer troubles himself but rarely with the destinies of Africa, which it would be so decidedly against his interest to do. May not this very outcry raised so near at home only be a ruse to conceal, with more impenetrable secrecy, the rank hypocrisy and deep dishonesty of those who are engaged in the Brazilian African slave-trade?

And how does the cotton-mill magnate of this country, who thus panders to this unhallowed plunder of human liberty, if indeed he is not something more than a mere panderer, treat those in his employ, who by their necessities, and not of choice, are constrained to fabricate West Coast goods? One would be apt to think that his conscience would rest uneasily within him; that, while preaching abolitionism and equality of



castes, he would exhibit in his dealings with his employees a practical illustration of his doctrines, *ostensibly*, hypocrite as he is in reality. We might select from the testimony voluntarily offered by the operatives of their treatment; but that would be considered *ex parte*, and favorable to the adverse side. We shall therefore summon the factory owner himself, or, what is equivalent, array before us those witnesses who were (on their affidavits) brought before the Legislature of Pennsylvania by the mill and factory owners of New-England, in 1848, for the purpose of inducing the legislature to reconsider the proposition for limiting a day's labor to twelve hours. The libeller of the Southern institution cannot object to this—the witnesses are selected from among their own choosing.

*Eliza R. Hemmingway.*—"She is now at work in the Middlesex Mills. Her wages average from \$16 to \$23 per month, exclusive of board. Complained of the hours of labor being too many, and the time for meals being too limited. In the summer season, the work is commenced at 5 o'clock, A. M., and continued till 7 o'clock, P. M., with half an hour for breakfast, and three-quarters of an hour for dinner. But half an hour is allowed for dinner during eight months of the year. The air of the room she considered unwholesome. There were 293 small lamps and 61 large lamps lighted in the room in which she worked. About 180 females, 11 men, and 12 children worked in this room with her. Thinks there is no day when there are less than six of the females out of the mill from sickness."

So we should think, but she does not mention how many are annually borne to the grave. Fourteen hours a day, with no time for rest, or the digestion of their food; intent year in and year out on their duties, fabricating merchandise for the purchase of negroes on the shores of Africa, as well as for the teas of China—fragile girls, undeveloped in their womanhood—yes, we should regard it as a miracle if there were less than six sick daily, cooped up in an atmosphere so deadly as this is described, where, like the fires of Vulcan, the lamps of toil constantly burn.

*Miss Sarah G. Bagley.*—"Worked three years in the mills before her health began to fail. Thinks the health of the operatives is not so good as the health of females who do housework or millinery business. The chief evil, so far as health is concerned, is the shortness of time allowed for meals; the next evil is the length of time employed, not giving them time to cultivate their minds."

Where is the slave in the South that would exchange his condition for slavery such as this—repudiate his liberty in the plantation, where the winds of heaven may blow upon him, where he may enjoy the early morn among the carolling of

birds, feel that he is a freeman until long after the sun has mounted towards the zenith, and then rest from his toil, as nature may need repose, throughout the day? We have ventured within these cotton prisons, where in every revolving wheel, and in the atmosphere of the confined rooms, we have had nothing but chapter on chapter of the hypocrisy, and the lust of the miserly economist, and the soulless taskmaster.

*Miss Judith Payne.*—"Is a weaver, and attends three looms. Has lost one year out of seven by ill health. Drew \$14.66 for five weeks' work, *exclusive* of board. She attributes her ill health to the long hours of labor among the operatives."

*Miss Olive J. Clark.*—"Thinks there is hardly a week in which there is not some one out [of the mills] on account of sickness. Thinks the air is bad, on account of the small particles of cotton which fly about."

We have here introduced the testimony of these young ladies, taken at random from the record; and the gist of it is, that the operatives are compelled to labor from twelve to sixteen hours per day, and receive for their labor about 50 cents per day, exclusive of board; that about one-twentieth are sick all the time, in consequence of the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere in the rooms of the factories; that they cannot obtain sufficient time in which to partake of their meals, or to rest their limbs; and that owing to this inexorable drain upon their time and physical powers, they have not the opportunity to improve their minds. This testimony is a part of what was adduced by the mill-owners. The adverse side furnished facts which were convincing of the existence among the mill-owners of the most stupendous system of manual labor exaction ever before dreamed of. If, therefore, nothing better could be said, by the above-named witnesses, for the factory owner, in mitigation of his offence against humanity, it had better have been withheld altogether; for, as it stands upon the record, it convicts the fire-brand propagandists of the North of the rankest hypocrisy, and most unmannerly knavery, that ever was attempted to be palmed off for sanctity and philanthropy upon a generous community. Are the white slaves of the factory undeserving the sympathy of the anti-slavery and woman's rights ismatics of the North? Is the compact between the mill-owner, with his looms, constructed for the fabrication of West Coast goods, the Salem ship-builder, and the abolitionist, so binding in its character, so secret in its conditions, so abominable in its invention, that it dare not be broken, lest the revelation of its details should cause an indignant public to spurn the authors of it? Or why should there exist this apathy in regard to the white slave of the factory—this indifference to the wrongs of the operative, who tells us in so many words that her condition is almost insup-

portable; that, entering the mills at eleven, she becomes prematurely old at twenty, or finds a still earlier grave at fifteen? Is the field too limited for the vast work they have in view? Or, does there exist a compact, of the complexion we have hinted, by which, while the brawling abolitionist excites the popular prejudice at home, factory-owner, exporting-merchant, ship-builder, and abolitionist, may go on with more security in the Brazilian slave-trade with Africa?

We do not expect a reply to this question. But mock philanthropists have other appeals to meet, which are not merely conjectural in foundation. We have shown how far abolitionism can go in cruelty; let us examine how far it goes in denying those charities which poverty, and not lunacy, or factory operatives, claim from it. Official publications\* show that there arrived in the United States, in 1850, 315,333 emigrants. Of this number, 26,835 arrived in Massachusetts, 43,615 in California, 184,882 in New-York, and 34,080 in New-Orleans, the residue entering the ports of the Union being pretty equally divided. By an examination of the municipal records of New-Orleans, Charleston, Philadelphia, New-York, Baltimore, and Boston, (so far as information can be gleaned from them, bearing on the inquiry,) and from the reports of railroad and canal companies, on emigrant travel, it appears that of the arrivals at the ports of the North, one-tenth remain in the large cities, or settle near the sea; while of the arrivals at the South, one-seventeenth either remain in the large cities, or settle in Texas. Hence, in proportion to population, it is just possible that the Atlantic free States may extend support to ten or twelve per cent. more of foreign pauperism than are the Southern Atlantic or Gulf States called upon to contribute, but the press, in the latter case, does not so frequently and pompously record the fact. Now, with this slight difference in view, we will venture the subjoined table, which shows the number of paupers in each State, the ratio to population, and the figures of the population itself. It is asserted that the slave-wretchedness in the South has no parallel in the North. The Five Points in New-York have been instanced. "Bah!" the abolitionist exclaims. "Do the Five Points represent the condition of the whole section?" Very well. We have here lumped negroes, North and South, with the whites, (a decided advantage to the cause of the "reformer," as the South has few white paupers,) and still the figures show this disparity, that while in the Southern States there is a pauper to only 2,662 persons, every 395th person in the North is dependent on the public bounty. The South does not imitate "popular" philanthropy in this particular. When misfortune or

\* Senate Exec. Doc., No. 16, 31st Congress, 31st Sess.

misery has driven the unfortunate out of his senses, he is not chained in a wood-house, and fed on bones, and made to feel the deprivation of warmth, and the want of a decent bed—at least, something better than straw. Such objects are taken care of; and where one out of ten thousand is restored to his right mind in the jails and dens of other sections, one out of twenty is restored by the better treatment he meets with at the South.\*

RETURNS OF THE PAUPERS OF THE UNITED STATES—CENSUS, 1850.

FREE STATES.				SLAVE STATES.			
States.	No. Pau- pers.	Popula- tion.	Ratio.	States.	No. Pau- pers.	Popula- tion.	Ratio.
Connecticut,.....	2,237	370,604	1 to 165	Alabama,.....	363	771,654	1 to 2,126
Illinois,.....	797	858,298	1 to 1,085	Arkansas,.....	105	209,640	1 to 1,999
Indiana,.....	1,182	988,734	1 to 836	Delaware,.....	697	91,523	1 to 135
Iowa,.....	135	192,122	1 to 1,409	Florida,.....	76	87,387	1 to 1,149
Maine,.....	5,803	583,088	1 to 105	Georgia,.....	1,036	678,635	1 to 652
Massachusetts,.....	15,777	994,271	1 to 63	Kentucky,.....	1,126	1,001,496	1 to 888
New-Hampshire,.....	3,600	317,864	1 to 89	Louisiana,.....	423	500,763	1 to 1,183
New-Jersey,.....	3,392	489,333	1 to 202	Maryland,.....	4,494	583,035	1 to 129
New-York,.....	58,655	3,090,022	1 to 51	Missouri,.....	260	592,853	1 to 2,305
Ohio,.....	2,513	1,977,081	1 to 787	Mississippi,.....	2,977	682,043	1 to 229
Pennsylvania,.....	11,531	2,311,681	1 to 204	North Carolina,.....	1,931	868,903	1 to 448
Rhode Island,.....	2,560	147,535	1 to 57	South Carolina,.....	1,642	668,469	1 to 407
Wisconsin,.....	666	304,226	1 to 463	Tennessee,.....	1,005	1,002,625	1 to 1,000
Vermont,.....	3,654	313,466	1 to 86	Texas,.....	7	187,403	1 to 26,772
Michigan,.....	1,190	398,703	1 to 332	Virginia,.....	4,356	1,421,081	1 to 326
Average,.....			1 to 395	Average,.....			1 to 2,662

We tell those who preach the doctrine of human equality in all things, and the parity of all castes, with other isms, that much of this pauperism is due to their egotistical and absurd vagaries. One-third of the negro population think it beneath them to lay hold of labor as it may chance to fall to them; and many will steal, or throw themselves upon the community for support, before they will condescend to mend the streets, or carry the hod. The doctrines of the descanters on "social reform" also breed discontent, and induce many a worthy man to give way to temptations, which lead him first to the grog-shop, and finally perhaps to the gallows or the alms-house. Cannot these propagators of isms find sufficient employment among the pauper establishments of the North, or the schools of poverty and vice not here given, for their superabundant sympathy, and—money? We opine none will deny that the figures show a good opportunity; will they think them deserving of attention?

It must be obvious to the reader, that we are not defending the moral right of slavery, instituted as it may be. There are conditions in which it may be an outrage; there are others in which it may prove a mutual blessing and protection to the community and the bondman. Our inquiries are plain, and their import clear. We have desired earnestly to ascertain what it is the abolitionist requires. If it be practical amalgama-

\* Vide Census Returns of 1850, article "Insanity."



tion, then, we have asked, to what extent shall it be carried? To the extent of availability? That is not insisted on. To the extent of expediency? If our proofs avail, there can arise no contingency wherein an amalgamation of Caucasian and Ethiopian blood would be expedient. Is it unconditional liberation of the slave that is demanded by the more moderate of the fanatical school—barring all reference to the question of amalgamation? But one pure motive could induce any one to make such a demand on the South—a deep and honest sympathy for the negro bondman, whose social condition, by the ample provision of the emancipationist, would be greatly bettered on achieving his freedom. In our investigation, thus far, we have sought in vain for this honesty of purpose—this superabundance of benevolence. On the contrary, the evidence and the fact have convicted the abolitionist and emancipationist of the grossest abuse of pretension, and of cruelties to the negro of Africa, and the factory girl, of which the Southern planter would not be guilty for all the looms of England. Where is the ample provision for the emancipated slave, which abolitionists and their emissaries declare awaits him? It exists nowhere. Nay, after the unfortunate slave has been used as an instrument to advance the interests of those who have more a pecuniary than a benevolent object in view, he is either hustled off to Canada, where the agitators hope he will be forgotten, or is compelled to strive for a livelihood at home, under a mask forced upon him by these disturbers of the public peace, who play upon his fears to secure his silence, and to prevent his voluntary return to his original home. A publication recently appeared in a Canadian paper, stating that many absconded slaves, who had been shipped off by the under-ground railroad managers to the Provinces, after they had been used sufficiently in the United States, would readily return to their masters in the South, if they had the means to do so, or were allowed to return by their hollow-hearted friends, who act the part of jailer in controlling their movements. The Crafts, in England, on whom British philanthropy wasted itself for a period of—three days—have written a letter to America, regretting their exile, and yearning for the land of their birth; but they are not permitted to return by their quasi-friends, and their master does not want them. Some slaves, with firmer minds than others, have refused the piebald alliance after their first insight into the mercenary motives of their abductors, and have boldly returned to the South, and claimed the privilege of resuming their “shackles.” These cases are not singular; they occur oftener than the abolition press are disposed to admit; and if they record them at all, it is done with a venom and rancor by no means flattering to those having the management of the under-ground railroad routes.

We shall not impute to the various classes of fanatics of the United States the responsibility of causing such scenes of poverty and human degradation as are met with among the negroes and whites—the practical amalgamationists—of the Five Points in New-York City, the Hole in the Wall in Boston, and Baker-street in Philadelphia. Misery and wretchedness grovelled in these localities before abolitionism had obtained any degree of importance. But when the denizen of a Southern city visits these sinks, and beholds the ravages which want, disease, and prostitution have wrought upon the abject objects which inhabit them—sees creatures of every shade of complexion, male and female, hoary-headed sinners, and children just freed from the mother's arms, revelling indiscriminately in vice, and imploring the charity of the just, and the interference of the Christian—he is constrained to ask whether the general reformer—the abolitionist and woman's rights champion—ever descends into these reeking dens, and endeavors to reclaim the erring, or alleviates the sufferings of the houseless and starving. Since a determined effort has been made to reform the Five Points, and an agent has undertaken the herculean task, several thousand dollars have been subscribed by the humane towards that end. We have deemed it of some importance to ascertain what amount has been tendered by the abolitionist-woman's-rights-spiritual-rapper-negro-server-reformer, and here is the list, so far as our information extends:—

“Contributions of 50 leading abolition lecturers, and woman's rights advocates, to the Five Points Mission, during the year 1853, ending November 1, \$0,000 00.”

It is a melancholy fact, that although the books of subscription for this laudable enterprise have been open for three years, the whole amount contributed by reform orators, and the ranting fanatics, does not amount to more than \$0,000 01.

We might draw our remarks to a close at this point. But before doing so, it is equally incumbent upon us that we should enter the alms-house, the prison, the house of refuge, and the asylums for the indigent and unfortunate. We have done so; and have propounded the question what essential benefit, in a pecuniary sense, the universal reformer has been to them. We have nowhere among them been able to trace his steps, or to find his munificence. True philanthropists do not confine themselves to a single duty, or contemplate a solitary purpose. Their hearts are open to all calls which appeal from a worthy source. Our fanatic revolutionists, however, are never seen within the walls of a prison, a house of refuge, a charitable institution for the indigent or unfortunate, where he may have occasion to unclothe his purse-strings, or where his goodness may be wasted without arresting the public attention, and receiving popular applause.

What merit is there in rescuing a convict from the gallows, a child from the paths of infamy? What are the claims of the shipwrecked sailor, the veteran of past wars, the misfortunes of the worthy but stricken widow and orphan, to the well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed negro, for whose benefit there is levied a systematic espionage by those who are too lazy to labor for their bread, and too careful of their liberty to venture on a crusade of dishonesty other than that which the laws cannot punish, and which their atheism and infidelity fortify them to commit in defiance of all moral law?

We have reserved for this, the concluding portion of our remarks, another phase of abolitionism, as it manifests its sympathy for the negro, not the white, slave of the North. It may not strike the casual reader that chattel servitude really exists in the Northern States—that there are relations between the white and the black as binding and absolute as are the relations between master and slave in the South. We are not asserting that slavery, as an institution, is either recognized or perpetuated by statutory laws among the States north of Delaware; but that it exists, and is therefore the more reprehensible and infamous, the records amply prove. By the census of 1840, there were still held in servitude in the North slaves among the following States:—

New-Hampshire.....	1	Pennsylvania.....	64
Connecticut.....	17	Ohio.....	3
Rhode Island.....	5	Wisconsin.....	11
New-York.....	4	Indiana.....	3
New-Jersey.....	974	Illinois.....	331
Total.....			1,413

This is the official report of the census; but it was boldly asserted a few years since in the United States Senate, by Mr. Lewis, of Alabama, that less than half the truth appeared with respect to the slave statistics of the North; that (either of his own cognizance, or by assurances which left him no reason to doubt) more than three thousand slaves were actually held to servitude in the free States, notwithstanding the census figures reduced the number to 1,413. But we will assume, and thereby avoid cavil, the latter number. The emancipation laws of the Northern States, unless our figures are much at fault, would leave two-thirds of this number of human beings still in bondage in the year 1847. The Free Soil sentiment had become rampant in 1844. Demagogues proclaimed it as a political issue in 1845; and politicians had fairly launched out on the sea of abolitionism in 1846. Now was the time for these philanthropists to come forward, and show, by purchasing the freedom of their negro brethren still held to servitude, the honesty of their intentions, and the

integrity of their principles. But they did nothing of the kind. They did not plead in extenuation or excuse, that the master of the North was more lenient than he of the South—that the humanity of one was superior to the humanity of the other—that the condition of the Northern slave was a whit better than the condition of the chattel of Louisiana or of Georgia. Not they; for such declarations would have met with a decided negative—a positive and overwhelming denial from the mouths of their own apologists: but they did better for their cause—they raised such a clamor against the South, that the enormity of the crime, and the extent of their hypocrisy, at home, were entirely overlooked. This was well understood. It was a scheme that succeeded, because it had been concocted with adroitness, and by men whose historic renown for strategy can only be measured by the turpitude which their seemingly patriotic deeds concealed. Some still live—the grave has closed on others.

As slavery is painted in such hideous colors, why were not these 1,413 bondmen purchased from their masters, and given up to freedom? Why were they permitted to groan in servitude, while so much ranting sympathy for the slave of the South was expended in the North? “I care not,” exclaims Lloyd Garrison, “if the slave have all the comforts which the hand of kindness can bestow upon him; while he wears his chains he is a slave still, and as powerfully enlists my sympathy.” Here was an opportunity to exhibit this overflowing benevolence at home; 1,413 slaves raised their shackles in appeal to him, and he saw them not, neither were their prayers or invocations heard.

Let us pass on. The census of 1850 appeared in published form in due time. Running our eye over its pages, it rests upon three ominous figures. Here they are:—

Number of slaves in New-Jersey . . . . . 222

It is true, the emancipation act of the State cheers the slave with the hope of *ultimate* freedom. But has he not worn his shackles unpitied for seven long years—seven years after abolitionism proclaimed a national sentiment, and aspired to control the destinies of the Republic? How does the abolitionist reconcile this inconsistency with his professions? What arguments can he adduce to combat the opinion that his blindness is wilful, and his indifference an unsparing confirmation of his offence?



## Art. V.—THE RUSSO-TURKISH QUESTION.

[The paper which follows will be found to embrace material of great interest in relation to the Turkish question, which is now disturbing so much the diplomacies of Europe, and which may in the event have influence enough to be felt upon our side of the water. It will constitute a very proper supplement to the article upon Turkey, which appeared in our last number, from the pen of a contributor. We copy it from a late issue of "Fraser's Magazine," which has but a small American circulation, and in this depart from our Editorial usage.—Ed.]

WHEN Shakspeare made his Henry V. ask the affianced Katharine of France, with somewhat more freedom than we are used to in these days, whether the issue of their union "between St. Denis and St. George, half French, half English," should not be "a boy that would go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard," he little dreamed how closely, two centuries and a half after, the spirit of his prediction would be realized. The two nations, indeed, whose patron saints were by their concert to fill the world with their deeds, are now joined by far stronger bonds than the matrimonial affinities of princes, ever failing in the hour of danger. Nor does the voice of justice or of policy call upon them to bid defiance to the ancient enemy of Christendom in the East. A sense of public duty, common interests, and a clear perception of the coming storm, dangerous to all alike, yet not equally foreseen by all, have bound them as one nation, to brave and suffer, or triumph together. The Power that under the mask of sympathy with its co-religionists aims at a dominion that would enable it to vanquish and enslave half Christendom, is scarcely less to be called its enemy than was formerly the Grand Turk himself. The standards of "St. Denis and St. George" may ere long lead to "beard" the great Northern foe, men "in arms not worse," and in a cause ten times more just, than those who fought and bled at Agincourt.

While men's minds are thus fixed on the ancient seats of heathen and Christian civilization in the East, but now for centuries past of Mohammedan conquest and usurpation, the great tideway of mankind continues to set in the opposite direction, westward and southward. The American shore of the Pacific is becoming inhabited by an active, enterprising, and apparently indomitable race. The same great ocean seems destined to be further bounded on the South by a branch of the same division of mankind, whose vocation appears to be to carry liberty of thought and action wherever they tread, and to bind the world by their commerce. This stupendous event, the emigration by thousands, and hundreds of thousands, from

Central and Western Europe to the continents of the new world, with the entire change it can hardly fail ultimately to induce on the face of Eastern Asia, must by no means be left out of sight when reflecting on the whole bearings of our present subject. China is already revolutionized, and bids fair to be thrown open to the world in these latter days. Gibbon has traced with as much distinctness as the nature of the case will admit, the first attacks by the Huns upon the Chinese Empire—its conquest, and the absorption of the victors into its already enormous population—the ultimate defeat of its northern enemies, and the breaking up of the Hunnish monarchy, which had existed in Central Asia for thirteen hundred years; the migration of tribes too independent for the yoke, westward; the continuance of this migration for centuries, tribe after tribe being impelled in that direction, by the repeated action, probably, of the same force which first drove them from their native seats; and their final stand on the north-eastern boundaries of the Roman Empire, until, in the age of degeneracy which ensued, they crossed its borders, and overspread its plains and cities like a flood. A future historian and philosopher may perhaps see, in the pressure of the European populations westward, in our past conquest, and we will hope, now commencing civilization of India, in the occupation, by the Anglo-Saxon race, of California, and the Western coast of America; in the probable opening of Japan to the rest of the world; in the rising fortunes of Australia; in the Chinese Revolution; and in many other secret causes at work in that quarter of the globe, but as yet hidden from our view—may see in these a bearing on the great Eastern question, (not, perhaps, that particular phase of it which is now before us, but) the general question between Christian Power on the one hand, and the Mohammedan on the other, not less true because seemingly remote, and scarcely observed in the glare of facts more near and tangible.

CONSTANTINOPLE, the keystone of the arch that binds the European and Asiatic families of mankind, the natural centre of their moral and intellectual movement, their progress and their commerce; occupying a position which, for the incomparable excellence of its harbor, wherein the fleets of the world could ride with their leviathans and three-deckers alongside its quays; for its station midway between the two seas, which unite in bringing to its shores the produce and riches of the east and west; and for the luxurious beauties with which nature has surrounded it, stands unrivalled in the world; this "Empire of a City" has long been the object of envy and of jealousy to the great conquerors and autocrats of our race. As eloquently described in an ancient letter: "*Est in Europâ; habet in conspectu Asiam, Ægyptum, Africamque à dextrâ;*

quæ tamesti contiguæ non sunt, maris tamen navigandique commoditate *veluti junguntur*." Founded originally by a little colony of Greeks, that keen and active race that has stamped the impress of its genius on all subsequent ages of mankind; the Roma Nova of Constantine; the great Patriarchate of eastern Christendom; the single stay for a thousand years of a falling empire; lastly, the centre of Ottoman might in its meridian and in its setting, it still promises to be the witness of the great struggles of our species for conquest or for existence, of its glories and of its weaknesses. For not only has this wonderful city raised up empires; it has also, by its extreme facilities for luxury and depravity, undermined and cast them down. The latter days of the ancient Greek Empire were perhaps unrivalled for the effeminacy and base servility of its inhabitants. When the Emperor Palæologus, a prince worthy of a nobler people, endeavored to muster the semblance of a force to repel the last furious assault of the Ottoman, Phranza, his faithful counsellor, mournfully reported that out of a population of one hundred thousand, not more than five thousand "*Romans*" could be found to give battle for their country, their wives and their children; and our great historian indignantly declaims against "men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety." Four hundred years of subjection may have wrought a change in the Greek mind, or certain theorists would hardly venture to propose a reconstitution of the Eastern Empire. But, however this be, the extraordinary influence of Constantinople alone on the rise and fall of already two empires, can hardly be overrated. Perhaps no higher testimony to its importanæ can be found than the secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit, by which Napoleon consented "to make common cause with Russia against the Ottoman Porte," in the event of the latter not accepting the Czar's conditions; "and," it proceeds, "the two high contracting parties will unite their efforts to wrest from the vexatious and oppressive government of the Turks all its provinces in Europe,—*Roumelia and Constantinople alone excepted*."\* The jealousies of the potentates were to preserve to the Turks their city. "I lay no stress," said Napoleon to the Russian Emperor, about the same time, "on the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia by your troops: you may protect them if you desire. It is impossible to endure any longer the presence of the Turks in Europe; you are at liberty to chase them into Asia; but observe only, I rely upon it that *Constantinople is not to fall into the hands of any European Power*."† O'Meara also relates the following remarkable saying of Napoleon at St. Helena:

Bignon VI., 339-340. Alison's *History of Europe*:

† *Hardenburg*, ix., 432. See on this whole subject Alison's *Europe*, chapter xlv., 78, 81, and Notes.

All the Emperor Alexander's thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it, and at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would benefit the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But when I reflected upon the consequences of this step, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, on account of the number of Greeks in the Turkish dominions who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get *Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe.* I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the Islands, which would have been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained.\*

Nor does the country of which we are speaking fall short of its great metropolis. Gifted with a climate and a soil to be envied by less favored peoples, this "land of the cedar and vine," with the luxuriance of almost tropical vegetation, would, in the hands of European cultivators, and under the security of European laws, with the aid of proper means of transport, become probably the richest in the world. But, alas! without roads, almost without laws, under the oppression of the worst form of tyranny,—that based on religious supremacy,—this garden of nature has become comparatively a wilderness. Yet many improvements have been made of late years, and are still being made, and we must hesitate before passing a sweeping condemnation on the Turk. We ourselves occupy a somewhat similar position in Asia to his in Europe. A few hundred thousand of our countrymen there laud it over a hundred and fifty million Hindoos. We cannot yet, however, point to the improved state of the interior of India, to its facilities of transport and of communication, to its canals, to its rivers made navigable, trunk and branch roads reticulated over its varied surface, and conveying its apparently boundless treasures to the general mart of the world; to the less frequent visitations of scarcity or famine; to the general well-being of its inhabitants, nor even to the uncorrupt administration of its law. The honorable Company, however, professes to be the landlord of India: the Turk acknowledges only a permanent encampment in Europe. The contrast, indeed, becomes less flattering to us, the further it is carried. We profess a religion that has for its object the im-

\* The designs of Russia upon Constantinople are of ancient date. So early as the eleventh century, there was a prediction that the Northern nations would one day possess that city, and an inscription to that effect is related by the Russian historian, Karamsin, to have been found one morning written on the pedestal of one of the principal statues. The idea has always haunted the Russian people, and even the Turks themselves, some of whom go so far as to show the gate by which the Muscovite battalions are to enter. When our Queen Elizabeth first sent an ambassador to the Porte, the Czar Boris affected to be sorely scandalized, and directed his ambassador not only to pretend disbelief of the report, but to propose a religious crusade against the infidels. Elizabeth evaded the question, called the Czar her well-beloved brother, who had long been the protector of the English, and said that "she daily prayed heaven for him!"—*Karamsin.*



provement and (finite) perfection of the human heart. Yet we cannot be said, as a nation, to have made even an approach to the moral amelioration of the subject race. The Turk, on the contrary, believes in the sword of the Prophet, and faithfully conforms in general, like the Rechabites of old, to the external precepts laid down for his conduct. Accordingly, what virtues the Koran really enforces are actually practised by the Faithful. Mr. Fellowes, who lived among them for several months in Asia Minor, has warmly described their unswerving truthfulness, their honesty, kindness, and hospitality; and, what is unhappily more than we in this favored land can boast of, *their mercy to their animals*, instruments of punishment for beasts of burden being hardly known among them—an instance of tender-heartedness in their character, that would seem to suit them for a truer and purer faith. The Greeks were in the habit of "*excusing*" the possession of these fine qualities in their former tyrants by such sayings as: "The Mohammedan dares not steal, his religion forbids it; he is not allowed by his religion to tell a lie," etc., etc. The same traveller gives them also just praise for their temperance, to which he ascribes in great measure their freedom from disease, and denies their addiction to opium in any such immoderate degree as that with which they have been charged. In their manners they carry with them the true Oriental gracefulness and ease. Nature, indeed, seems to have given the Children of the Sun in the East a grace to which the offspring of Japhet are strangers, and the Turks are admitted to a full share in the gift. "Their refinement," in short, is of the manners and affections, while, however, there is little cultivation or activity of mind among them. To this sterility, compared with the growth of activity and intelligence to the north and west of their country, they probably in great measure owe their decline.

We do not propose to rake up the apparently interminable question of the last eight months. Every phase of it, so far as foreign ministers have divulged their sentiments to the world, or events have disclosed them, whether in harmony with or contradiction to their ostensible professions, has already afflicted the public mind with a weariness only equalled by its disgust. The satisfaction freely given on the question of the holy shrines; the consequent abandonment of that question, as concluded; the subsequent ground taken again upon it, in Count Nesselrode's circular, as though *not* concluded; the sudden transition to a new claim, unheard of in the annals of independent nations, that the chief of one powerful State should exercise a spiritual protectorate over twelve millions of native subjects of another, and that a weaker State; the secrecy which was insisted upon in the negotiations and the oft-repeated menaces with which each

claim was accompanied ; the second Russian circular, founding the order for the occupation of the Principalities upon the advance of the allied fleets to Besika Bay, a statement chronologically false ; the eager acceptance of a note, which could be construed into containing the very terms originally demanded ; —all this has shown an amount of sharp practice, which, in every-day life, would be called by a name we had rather should be understood than expressed. The public mind of England has sufficiently declared itself upon each point, as it arose, and, so far as resistance to aggression and positive reprobation of injustice and duplicity are concerned, it is as that of one man. The questions which have arisen amongst us are rather questions of time and degree, and means, than of the principle involved. Some of these are also colored, more or less, with party politics, an inevitable result in this country, where even a momentary influence, by whatever means to be obtained, is too often an object of ambition. Witness the supercilious indifference with which some of Wellington's greatest victories were treated, by the party then in opposition ; and, at the commencement of his wonderful Peninsular career, the contempt poured on his measures, by the representatives rather of ignorance and faction, than of English cities and counties. We recall this, not in derogation of a constitutional system, in which, perhaps, such offences must needs come, but to prepare ourselves and others for the phenomena, should they occur, of party politicians making use of a necessary and just, though severe and grievous war, to suit their own purposes, and weaken the hands of government at the moment when it requires the combined aid of every mind and every arm to sustain its efforts. But, we repeat, in the present instance there has been but one opinion, one voice, on the question of rights and justice against violence and wrong. The same pervading feeling will, doubtless, last out the present day, and display England to the world as a power essentially, indeed, of peace, but of instant readiness to resist the very strongest in their career of aggression, if needs be.

Russian ambition has, for years past, followed up a gradual career of conquest. It has been well observed that the great Northern Empire has gained even more by its diplomacy than by its victories, so glad have been its enemies to conclude peace, even when partially successful, on the best terms they could obtain, so little was to be gained and so much to be lost. The author of *Progress of Russia in the East* has given us a vivid picture of this rapid advance towards universal dominion :—

The acquisitions which Russia has made, within the last sixty-four years, are equal, in extent and importance, to the whole empire she had in Europe before that time ; the acquisitions she has made from Sweden are greater than what remains of that ancient kingdom ; her acquisitions from Poland

are as large as the whole Austrian Empire; the territory she has wrested from Turkey in Europe is equal to the dominions of Prussia, exclusive of her Rhenish provinces; and her acquisitions from Turkey in Asia are equal, in extent, to all the smaller States of Germany, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, Belgium, and Holland, taken together; the country she has conquered from Persia is about the size of England; and her acquisitions in Tartary have an area equal to Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and Spain. In sixty-four years she has advanced her frontier eight hundred and fifty miles towards Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Paris; she has approached four hundred and fifty miles nearer to Constantinople; she has possessed herself of the capital of Poland, and has advanced to within a few miles of the capital of Sweden, from which, when Peter the First mounted the throne, her frontier was distant three hundred miles. Since that time she has stretched herself forward, about one thousand miles towards India, and the same distance towards the capital of Persia.

Such has been the apparently irresistible march of this gigantic power. If we inquire into the causes of this great phenomenon of the last and present centuries, we are equally struck with their simplicity and their grandeur. For centuries there had been a constant immigration of warlike tribes from Northern and Central Asia. Between the Tartars and the Poles, Russia's early history shows one continued period of suffering and subjugation. At length arose a deliverer in the person of Peter the Great, whose task was to bind up the disjointed framework of his State into the compactness of a well-regulated empire. From that moment the star of Russia has been in the ascendant. This was all that was wanting to make a people of intense religious feeling, inhabiting a country almost unassailable by regular armies, absolutely obedient to their nobles, inured to hardship and privation, and possessing a boundless territory, the most formidable nation, perhaps, that the world has yet seen. The means whereby Russia has effected her conquests, and the line of policy she has pursued, show a remarkable similarity in some respects to that followed by Ancient Rome, while in others they evince a tact and an astuteness peculiarly her own. The former case has been admirably treated by Professor Creasy, who remarks on

—the State craft of the Roman Senate, which took care in every foreign war to appear in the character of a *Protector*. Thus Rome *protected* the *Ætolians* and the Greek cities against Macedon; she *protected* Bithynia and other small Asiatic States against the Syrian kings; she *protected* Numidia against Carthage, and in numerous other instances assumed the same specious character. But "woe to the people, whose liberty depends on the continued forbearance of an over-mighty protector."\* Every State which Rome *protected* was ultimately subjugated and absorbed by her. And Russia has been the protector of Poland, the protector of the Crimea, the protector of Georgia, Immeritia, Mingrelia, the Tcherkessian and Caucasian tribes, &c. She has first *protected* and then appropriated them all. She *protects* Mol-

\* Malkin's *History of Greece*.

davia and Wallachia. A few years ago she became the protector of Turkey from Mehemet Ali, and since the summer of 1849, she has made herself the protector of Austria.\*

And we may now add, a well-meant attempt to become the protector of twelve millions, or four-fifths of the Sultan's subjects in Europe.

We have said, however, that this great power, while following the example of the former conquerors of the world, has improved on its teachers by a policy peculiarly its own. It will be remembered that the Russian forces entered the Principalities of the Danube, "*not to make war,*" but to obtain a "material guarantee" for the cession of the autocrat's demands. Let us hear now the testimony of the Russian historian, Karamsin, who has shown this very feature to be a leading characteristic of the imperial diplomacy:—

The object and character of our foreign policy (he observes) have ever been to make conquests without war, and to secure them at each peace, to maintain a defensive attitude, to place no trust in those whose interests do not tally with our own, and never to lose an occasion of doing them an injury, without, however, involving ourselves in the former state of war. (*Sans pour cela nous mettre formellement en guerre avec eux.*)†

Really one would think that this too candid author had been writing the history of the past year.

Bearing steadily in mind this distinctive policy of the Northern Empire, it will assist our obtaining a clear view of the present question, as between Russia and Europe, as well as between Russia and Turkey, to consider her actual military and geographical position relatively to the various nations on her frontier.

The first great fact that meets us in this inquiry is, that the most advanced military position of Russia in Europe,—that of Poland,—threatens both Berlin and Vienna at once, at a distance of not more than 180 miles from either, or nearer than York is to London. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this fact, not only in its military consequences, in case of war, but in the political influence it must secure to this Power at all times. Accordingly, we have seen Russia step in as the armed arbiter between the Austrian Emperor and his Hungarian rebels; and when lately Prussia and Austria seemed intent on effecting their mutual destruction, it was the same great Power that employed its friendly mediation, backed by the

\* *Decisive Battles of the World*, ii. p. 220.

† Quoted by General Count Bjornstierna in his *Tableau Politique et Statistique de l'Empire Britannique dans l'Inde*. The reference is not given, nor have we succeeded in finding the passage in Karamsin's works; but the high character of the Swedish statesman is a sufficient voucher for its authenticity.



presence of 100,000 disposable troops in Poland. It is not, indeed, probable that a German politician would admit this state of friendly dependence, but we imagine it would be difficult for him to define the exact limit of independence of which his country actually feels itself in possession, with respect to its great Northern neighbor. Were Germany a nation united under one head, it would have nothing to fear, or rather, perhaps, it would be itself too much to be feared. But, as Germany now is, with many of its princes unmistakably espousing the Russian cause, and more or less connected with the Russian court, and its people in an unsettled state, with no definite idea to work upon, with Prussia and Austria resuscitating from time to time their ancient rivalry—last, but not least, with a crowd of exiles that wait but the first shot fired in the general struggle to recommence their dangerous game, it is clear that neutrality, a very passive, though, perhaps, talking neutrality, is all that can be expected. And all this is the direct consequence of that act, so infamous in the annals of those nations, which blotted out the name of Poland from the map of Europe. Were this ancient military monarchy reconstituted, even at this late hour, a barrier would be raised to Russian ambition which might throw back for centuries her schemes of conquest. This is not the place to discuss the practicability, or even possibility, of any such scheme. It may, or it may not, be politic, humane, righteous. But this seems certain, that it, and it alone, could re-establish the perfect independence of Prussia and Austria, and, with them, of every minor German State. Truly, the past history of Poland would give no promise of the possibility of the existence of such a nation in this century, whose normal condition was anarchy, and its great internal acts but deeds of blood. Still, the fact remains, and the two principal nations of Germany have only themselves to thank for the presence of such unwelcome neighbors within a fortnight's march of each of their capitals.

The Russian Empire presses on the whole Northern and Eastern boundary of the Austrian dominions until the Danubian principality of Moldavia interposes, and its frontier thenceforward follows the line of the Pruth to the Euxine. With the further possession, whether virtual or actual, of Moldavia and Wallachia, Russia would encompass, on three sides at least, the provinces of Galicia (the Austrian share of Poland), Hungary, and Transylvania, and the Danube would be thenceforth a Russian river. However absurd it may sound, Austria's most important domains are at this moment in peril of being surrounded. Their final capture may well be reserved to the future convenience of the victor. To so great an extent is this an Austrian question, and such chains, nevertheless, has the Czar coiled round the neck of that ancient empress of nations, that she

dares not act, and must be content with talking, and with watching the preparations for her own turn, most surely to come, with the giant of the North.

The position of Russia with respect to Turkey is still more threatening. Occupying the northern coast of the Black Sea, with the superbly fortified harbor of Sebastopol as a base for her naval operations, and with only such wretched sailors to oppose as the Turks in late years have proved, she would have the entire command, but for any foreign aid the latter might receive, of that important sea, including the mouths of the Danube, with the enormous commerce that floats down its stream to supply the markets of the world. Sebastopol is but 350 miles (about) from Constantinople, and a strong force kept constantly in readiness to embark at the former place would effectually menace the latter, and at the same time threaten the flank and rear of any Turkish force occupying the range of the Balkan. The northerly winds which generally prevail, and the currents which set constantly towards the great outlet at Constantinople, must always be an important aid to this fleet. There is no question but the issue of a war between Russia and Turkey would be very much influenced, if not altogether decided, in favor of the power which should obtain the permanent command of the Black Sea. With this command, a Russian fleet of ships of war, steamers, and transports, would accompany the left flank of their army, assist in the capture of the maritime fortresses, convey provisions, stores, and ammunition, and constantly press upon, if not altogether turn the right flank of the Turkish force. On the other hand, should the Turks or their allies be triumphant on this sea, the communications of a Russian force in Wallachia or Bulgaria would be in continual peril, the Turkish coast line with its fortresses would be secured; these, with the aid of the position of Schumla (of which more hereafter), would engage the enemy to attack by his right, probably by Tirnova or Sophia, and a serious repulse in this attack, with his long, circuitous, and exposed communications with Southern Russia, might eventually endanger the loss of his army.

These remarks will be hereafter illustrated by a reference to the campaigns of 1828-9. But in respect to the importance of holding the command of the Black Sea, it is hardly too much to say that it is here that Russian aggression may receive its greatest check, and that not improbably another Actium may decide in the Euxine the fate of the world.

The command of the Black Sea must also exercise an important influence on the military operations in Asia. From the natural difficulties and the want of good communications in the country, on its western and southern coasts, it becomes a material object on both sides to transport their reinforcements and sup-

plies by water. Whichever power, then, can secure this advantage to the detriment of the other, will have mastered one of the principal difficulties attendant on warfare in these parts, and will be so far in a superior position to his adversary. There can be little doubt, however, that the Russian navy will always be more than a match for the Turkish; and that should the latter be ever left to cope single-handed with their formidable adversary, this one consideration of the Russians obtaining a free range of the Euxine, while the Turks are cooped up in their harbors, will be sufficient of itself to give the former an overwhelming superiority in the general campaign. The position of Sebastopol in the Crimea is admirably calculated to secure these advantages.

Such being the general position taken up on the northern coast of this inland sea, it remains to consider the pressure of the Russian Power on the northern provinces of Turkey in Europe. The Principalities of the Danube, which separate Turkey proper, as it may be called, from Russian Bessarabia, are, it is well known, under the joint protection of the two Powers, but paying a tribute to the Sultan. The ruling influence, however, in these provinces, is of course unmistakable. There can be no question of the vast importance of their possession to the great Northern Empire, giving it the entire command of the Danube, reducing Austria to a state of almost absolute dependence, and only awaiting the course of events to complete the march already begun on Constantinople itself. We find, accordingly, that it was one of the first objects of anxiety to Alexander, in his conferences at Tilsit, to obtain the consent of the French Emperor for their annexation to Russia. This was in due time followed by an Ukase (January 21, 1810), formerly annexing these Provinces, and decreeing the Danube to be the southern boundary of the Empire, from the Austrian territory to the sea. It is true that in the treaty of Bucharest (May 28, 1812), which concluded that war, they were restored to their former owners; the formidable attack by Napoleon on the heart of the Empire rendered it desirable to procure peace, even at the price of retraction; but the fact of the annexation remains in strong evidence of the real designs of Alexander, which we may very safely conclude are being steadily followed up by his successor. Indeed, one of the principal acts in the reign of the present Emperor has been the procuring the nominal independence of these provinces; and in consequence, by a somewhat novel figure of speech, Russia could seize upon them as a "material guarantee" for the cession of her demands, without, at the same time, making war upon Turkey.

The Wallachians and Moldavians are interesting, as the descendants of the Roman colonists whom Trajan planted among

the ancient Daci, as a barrier against the barbarians of the North. The hope was vain, and these unhappy provinces have been the prey to successive invaders from those distant ages to the present time. It cannot be said that the hope of the future is to them more promising than the history of the past is miserable. Perhaps their only chance of repose would be to fall under the domination of one of the Great Empires which they adjoin. Could this be Austria, the danger to the Ottoman Empire and to Europe might not be very considerable, while it would effectually separate the two belligerents. A proposition by Talleyrand to that effect is on record. But Russia could never permit such a Power to stand between her and her victim; the prevalent Greek religion is another insuperable bar; and lastly, the Turk himself would fight, as he is now doing, for the small amount of sovereignty that is still left to him in those parts. But the climate is mild, the soil wonderfully fertile, and under a good government, and with years of peace, these provinces would probably be unsurpassed in Europe for wealth and prosperity. At present they bear only the marks of the hard lot to which their position between Europe and its Asiatic invaders has for centuries past reduced them; ill cultivated, half peopled, half civilized, with few towns, and scarcely anything that can be called a road. The description of the country by an eyewitness, one who served in the Russian war of 1810 against the Turks, may be interesting, as well for the circumstance that its condition must always modify, to an important degree, the Russo-Turkish question, as that it is at this moment the seat of war. We may add, that from all accounts there appears but little difference between its present state and that described in the following extract:—

Taking the course of a traveller setting out from Hermanstadt, we cross the lofty mountain-regions of Transylvania by the pass of Rothen thurn, descend on the River Argisch, near the small town and convent of that name, and scale the vine-clad spur of the range, from whence are viewed the fields and plains of Wallachia. Rivers and streams in great numbers precipitate themselves from the mountains into the Danube, all of them impetuous in their course, fordable in dry weather, but overflowing at every fall of rain. The communications, which are only kept up by ferry-boats and bad bridges, are frequently interrupted, and the rich soil renders the roads impracticable in wet weather. The entire plain, covered with oak brushwood, becomes in winter the haunt of great numbers of wolves from the mountains. Anciently the country was covered with forests, which, however, the inhabitants have cut down for firewood, and turned the land into pasture for their cattle, their principal means of subsistence. In Moldavia and Bessarabia the inhabitants have followed a similar industrial employment; but the soil is in many respects different from that of Wallachia. In these the streams, issuing from the lower levels of Padolia and Bukowina, flow in a more even course to the Danube, and form extensive marshes. Bessarabia is furrowed with these from north to south; yet notwithstanding,



the country conveys to the eye the appearance of a perfect plain, with nothing but pasture, and not even a solitary bush. The inhabitants, after the fashion of the Tartars, lead a wandering life, and carry their tents from place to place. The Wallachians are also half Nomads, even their villages consisting but of large and partially excavated hovels, and these changed, from time to time, as the flocks change their pasture. In consequence, the only sure indication of a place on the map is when a church or convent may have gathered around it some huts or wooden houses, so as to form a sort of town. More fixed habitations are, however, to be found in Moldavia, probably from its greater proximity to European civilization. Agriculture there is none in these provinces, or scarcely any worth mentioning, except the cultivation of Turkish wheat, of which the inhabitants make their bread; but the abundance of hay produced by their rich meadows, and which, made up into ricks, supplies even the flocks and herds of Transylvania during the winter, more than compensates the deficiency.\*

It may seem, at first view, that such a land of desolation is scarcely worth contending for. And, indeed, to Turkey it can be of but little value, further than the tribute it pays, and the honors of sovereignty. To Russia, however, it would constitute a vast accession of power, not only by its own natural riches, which, by means of good communications and proper drainage, she might turn to good account, but in a still greater degree by its political value, as insuring the command, for all practical purposes, of the all-important Danube. We should then hear no more of chokings up, by sand-banks, at the mouth. The great river of Germany would be under the efficient control of Russia, and it would be as much the interest of the latter to promote its commerce as it now is to impede it, in order to turn off the main traffic to Odessa. It is a paramount duty of Austria, and of all Southern Germany, to oppose, by material means if necessary, this threatened encroachment. It would indeed appear from the circular of the Austrian government to its diplomatic agents, that this part of the question has occupied its serious attention, and it is probably in reference to this that the Austrian neutrality is promised only so long as her great State interests are not menaced.

The importance to Austria of maintaining, if not in her own possession, at least in that of a neutral power, the course of this great river to its mouth, is sufficiently obvious. It is probable that this will determine the drift of her policy; and if so, it must be eminently that of present peace, with prudent arrangements for the security of these provinces, based on the general European equilibrium, and guaranteed by all the great Powers. The object would be to obtain a permanent veto by the rest of Europe against their being invaded by any one without the general consent, or only when required by urgent circumstances, which should be well defined. Could such a resolution be

\* Valentini: *Guerres des Russes contre les Turcs.*

adopted, the present great and otherwise unmixed evil which would have led to it, would scarcely be a subject of regret.

So much attention has been given of late to the operations on this great "highway of nations," that we may be pardoned if we dwell a little on its leading characteristics, as materially influencing, not only every war, but even every act in the pacific policy of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Austrian Empire, though placed *à cheval* on the Danube, is neither in possession of its source nor of its mouth, yet that river is the main artery of the empire. An invader from the east or the west would strike at the heart of the latter by following the stream as his line of operation; innumerable tributaries still further increase its importance, and nothing seems wanting to secure to Central Europe the benefits Providence has marked for it in the possession of such an outlet for its industry and produce, but the control or occupation of the last part of its course and of its mouth. The Prussian General Valentini, from whom we have already quoted, gives an interesting description of this portion of the river:—

The Danube, (he observes,) which separates these provinces from Bulgaria, is, at its entrance into the Turkish Empire, a very important river, as well from the size of its islands, as from the rapidity of its current, which renders it difficult to establish bridges of boats, for which also there would be required very large vessels. Silistria and Turtukai, where the stream is not more than a thousand paces broad, are the most advantageous points for these bridges. It would be difficult, however, to protect them against a skilful enemy who should be master of the right bank, seeing the plateau of Bulgaria is more elevated than the provinces of the opposite side, and extends to the very bank of the stream, terminating in a steep slope, from whence there is an entire command of observation over the plains of Wallachia. This bank is composed partly of rocks, partly of a clay standing at the steepness of rock, and intersected by deep ravines. The province, favored as it is by nature, presents alternately uncultivated plains and the most luxuriant vineyards, which in some places extend along the river bank for miles, while their fertility is such that it seems impossible effectually to lay them waste. The high lands of Bulgaria are not so fortunate. Intersected by deep glens, which in summer are dry, they suffer much from the want of water; and but for a skilfully combined system of conduits, and the formation of artificial pools in the valleys, their population could never be proportionate to their fertility.\*

It is now time that we examine more closely the military bearings of the question, and consider the capabilities of Turkey for defence. For this the experience of past wars will be the best guide, and it will be necessary to assume, what has always been the case after the parties have been any time engaged, that the Russians are considerably superior in the numbers, and (always hitherto) in the quality of their troops. Without such

\* Valentini: *Guerres des Russes contre les Turcs*, p. 41.

assumption, indeed, the inquiry were worthless. We shall also take advantage of the opinions which military officers of distinction have expressed on this branch of the subject, trusting that its great importance at the present time will be an excuse for some little tedium of detail, which under the circumstances is inevitable. To save the constant recurrence of geographical explanation, we will make bold to recommend our readers to have before them any common map of Turkey in which the principal routes are given.

The natural features of the country present two grand lines of defence, at distances from one another varying from fifty to one hundred miles, and with an admirable position for a reserve, or for a third line of defence, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles of the second line. The first line is that of the Danube, with its fortresses. The second line is the range of the Balkan, from Varna on the coast to the Ikhliman pass on the road between Tartar-Bayarjik and Sophia, including the position of Schumla, and the passes through the mountains. The third position is at Adrianople, on the Maritza, and extends by the Kuchuk Balkan to Kirklish. In addition to these, the country adjoining Constantinople is also very strong, and may even be considered as a fourth line of defence.

The length of the first line is about 350 miles, that of the second about 250, and the third nearly 50 miles.

The whole country is excessively unfavorable for military operations, from the difficulties of transport, the endless succession of strong positions, and above all, from the terrible malaria, which to European constitutions is even more destructive than the sword of the Ottoman.

With this general view before us of the theatre of operation, we shall now give a précis of the two attacks by Russia upon Turkish territory which have occurred during the present century, namely, the campaigns of 1809-11, and of 1828-9.

The Russians commenced the campaign of 1809 in the spring, with a nominal force of eighty thousand infantry, and twenty-five thousand horse, including Cossacks. They had already occupied, since 1807, Bucharest and the Danubian Principalities. The Turks, weakened by the sanguinary revolutions of the preceding year, could oppose no force in the field capable of meeting such formidable enemies. They prudently resolved, therefore, to throw strong garrisons into the fortresses on the Danube, and to wait the issue of events at Schumla, and on their second line—that of the Balkan.

Prozorowsky, the Russian general, first attempted Giurgevo, opposite Rustchuk, by escalade. He was repulsed, with the loss of two thousand men. He next tried the same too obvious method against Brahamlow, where, after leaving seven thousand

killed in the ditches, he was again repulsed. The Turks, emboldened by these successes, ventured across the river at Giurgevo, and commenced ravaging Moldavia. To draw them off, Bagrathion, who now succeeded to the command of the Russian forces, Prosorowsky having died, attempted to besiege Silistria. The siege was shortly turned into a blockade, and ultimately raised altogether, in consequence of a repulse at Tartaritza. The Russians, however, succeeded in forcing Brahilow to capitulate towards the close of November, thus obtaining a fortress which insured the passage of the Danube in the ensuing spring. This was their only success of any importance during the year, and we observe that the whole campaign consisted of mere desultory fighting on different points of the first line of defence—the Danube.

The year 1810 was opened with the formal annexation of the provinces to the Russian Empire, as has been already noticed. To support this audacious measure, the army on the Danube was reinforced to its original complement of 80,000 infantry and 30,000 horse. Kamenskoi was appointed to the command, and his plan of operations was as follows. The right wing was to besiege Silistria and Rustchuk, and thus secure the Lower Danube as a basis, while the remainder of the army were to advance upon Schumla, carry it by storm, and open the road to Constantinople.

The right wing accordingly crossed the Danube, and invested Rustchuk; the left did not commence its operations till two months afterwards. It then besieged and took a few Danubian fortresses, mostly by holding out favorable conditions to their garrisons. Having secured, therefore, the immense advantage of a broad base of operations in the line of fortresses on the Lower Danube, and with no enemy in his immediate front or on his flank, Kamenskoi found his project sufficiently advanced to make his assault on Schumla, the key of the Balkans, towards their eastern extremity, and the pivot of the second great line of defence. To carry this celebrated position, the Russian general took with him forty thousand men.

Schumla, situated on the northern slope of the Balkan, the point of junction of the roads from Rutschuk, Silistria, Ismael, etc., to Constantinople, commanding by its situation no less than three important passes, and with every natural advantage in its favor for the formation of a strong intrenched camp, has, in all the late wars with the Russians, been selected for the principal defensive position of the empire. The town itself is said to contain 30,000 inhabitants.

It is encompassed by a counterfort of the Balkan, in the form of a horse-shoe, the steep slopes of which, covered with the thickest thorn-bush, form a position as favorable as the Turkish soldier can desire, who is fond of fighting under the shelter of rising ground or intrenchments. The town, which



is about a league in length, and half a league in breadth, is protected by an earthen rampart and ditch, and in some places by a thick brick wall, flanked by small massive towers, from which five or six men could fire. Such is the nucleus of the intrenched camp, the contour of which is naturally indicated by the crests of the surrounding heights, which are well protected from attack by the ravines that intersect them, and the steepness of the declivities. The camp, by reason of its great extent, could scarcely be blockaded; while the place itself is perfectly secure from bombardment, allows ample space for the magazines of the army, and even contains within its circuit vineyards and gardens, and, above all, a stream of pure water.\*

The camp was occupied at this time by 30,000 men, under the Grand Vizier, Kara-Yusuf Pasha, who had signalized himself by his defence of Acre, in conjunction with Sir Sidney Smith, against Napoleon. The Russians appeared before it on the 23d of June. A desultory contest ensued, in which both parties fought with desperation for every eminence and every thicket. The assailants, however, gained but little ground, and on the 12th of July abandoned the enterprise, retiring towards the Danube, and leaving a force, nominally to blockade, but in reality merely to watch the Turkish camp.

The Russian general next endeavored to wipe off this stain by the assault of Rustchuk. Conformably with the usual tactics of the Turks, the garrison had sat still without molesting the assailants in any way during their approaches. An easy victory was expected by the younger soldiers; the older ones were more dubious. The attack was conducted in five massive columns. Two out of the five were admitted, and instantly cut to pieces by the Turkish scimitars; the others were received with such a terrible fire from the ramparts, and roofs of the adjoining houses, that after twelve hours consumed in this hopeless contest, the Russian general yielded to necessity, and drew off his forces, leaving eight thousand killed and wounded on the ramparts, ditch, and glacis.

After this dreadful repulse, the Russians confined themselves to a blockade. A body of 30,000 Turks, consisting for the most part of raw militia, assembled to succor the place, but were attacked, and, after two days of severe fighting, defeated with great loss at Batin; in consequence of which Rustchuk capitulated, but on honorable terms. The campaign concluded with the siege and capture of Nicopolis, and the retirement of the Russians across the Danube for the winter. Kamenskoi soon after died, and was succeeded by the celebrated Kutusoff, afterwards the antagonist of Napoleon.

This campaign was therefore confined almost entirely to the Danube and the country between that river and the Balkan. An attempt on the latter position signally failed, but on the

other hand, every place on the first great front of defence fell into the hands of the enemy. When we consider the relative disparity of forces, in number and in quality, this insignificant result may well surprise us: but we must remember that it is entirely due to the repulse of the attack upon Schumla; and the natural strength of that position, joined to the bravery of its defenders, saved once more the honor, if not the existence of the Ottomans, as it had before done when assaulted by Romanzoff in the middle of the last century.

The campaign of 1811 opened with a great reduction of the Russian forces, in consequence of the menacing state of the relations between St. Petersburg and the Tuileries. Kutusoff found no more than fifty thousand men at his disposal, and the Turks having rallied round their standards to the number of sixty to eighty thousand men, he necessarily stood on the defensive. The very interesting battle of Rustchuk, in which the characteristic qualities of the European infantry and Asiatic horse were so remarkably displayed, was the first occurrence of any note. Though victorious, Kutusoff felt his position to be insecure, with the Danube in his rear, and retired the whole of his forces across the river. The Turks having crossed in pursuit, fortified themselves on the opposite, or Wallachian bank; then followed the extraordinary action, in advance of Giurgevo, in which the Turkish fieldworks covering their bridge were literally surrounded by the Russian redoubts and their whole army shut up within their lines, while a Russian division, having crossed the river unperceived, gained command of the bridges in their rear and of the interior of the camp. A furious cannonade ensued, till the whole surviving Turkish force which had passed the river laid down their arms. Negotiations for peace were entered upon shortly after, and the campaign thus terminated.

Little or no use appears in these campaigns to have been made of the fleets on either side. This is explained, however, so far as the Russians are concerned, by the circumstance, that Varna, the great military post of Turkey, was untaken. An attempt on that fortress was made in the course of the second campaign, which, however, failed. On the other hand, both sides employed a large fleet of gun-boats on the Danube, which seems to be indispensable to operations on that river.

We now come to the Russian campaigns of 1828-9. The destruction of the janizaries, or military feudatories, holding their lands for services liable to be demanded in war, which had occurred three years before, had sapped, for the time at least, the main strength of the Ottoman Empire, by transferring its defence from the arm of the freeman to that of the conscript. The latter was no substitute for the former—the irregular vio-

lence of whose blows was but ill compensated by the attempted European discipline under the new system. Accordingly, we may be prepared to expect the most formidable defeat the Turkish Empire had yet sustained. Bad as it was, however, it was by no means easily achieved; and, as we shall presently see, it was accomplished at last far more by a successful stroke of generalship, than by the overwhelming force of the assailants. We do not usually, indeed, hear these campaigns spoken of in this manner; but we imagine it will be evident that such was the case from the following statement. So little is really known of this war, though occurring strictly in our own times, that it may be well to state the authorities we shall generally follow in the account. *The Portfolio*, or collection of State Papers, contains (vol. iii.) a "Précis of a Report on the Russian Campaigns of 1828 and 1829, drawn up, for the information of the Duke of Wellington, by Lieut. Colonel Chesney." The editor of that publication and the gallant and highly scientific officer, of whose report it purports to be a précis, being happily both living, we shall leave any question of authenticity to be settled, if necessary, between them—merely observing, however, that it bears upon its face the stamp of truth, under whatever circumstances it chanced to come into print. We shall rely in some measure also on the history by Valentini, from whom we have already largely quoted, and who, though evincing a strong bias in favor of his former companions in arms, and obtaining his information through Russian channels, shows, nevertheless, a regard for truth that may well qualify him for the first rank of military historians.

The Russians opened the campaign of 1828 with 160,000 men according to some, with only 100,000 according to others, by invading the Danubian Principalities, which they entered on the 8th of May. They are stated to have advanced without any previously arranged commissariat, acting probably on the old Roman, and afterwards Napoleonic maxim, of making war maintain war, and levying contributions on the peasants without payment. As might be expected, a scarcity ensued; fresh supplies were brought in from Russian Bessarabia by forced labor: famine preyed on the population of the country, a murrain consumed the cattle, and the plague broke out with intense energy at Bucharest, carrying off in the two years no less than 12,000 Russian soldiers. While these horrors were being perpetrated in their rear, the Russian army proceeded to the siege and capture of the fortresses in their way. Meanwhile, the Turks had assembled 31,800 infantry, and 13,000 cavalry at Schumla, under "the energetic Hussien Pacha." The Russians moved simultaneously against Varna, Silistria, and Schumla. Of these, however, at the termination of the campaign, on the arrival of winter, they had only succeeded in the capture of

Varna, after a resistance of seventy days to the Russian batteries, and with two bastions demolished by their mines. The garrison did not risk an assault, with which the Turkish defence usually commences, and there appears reason to suppose the gates were partly opened with a golden key. The besiegers were materially assisted by their fleet. At the end of October, the sieges of Silistria and Schumla were raised, and the Russians went into winter quarters. Thousands of men are said to have died of the plague in this campaign, and 30,000 horses were lost.

The winter of 1828-9 was marked by a total inactivity on the part of the Turks, and, as has been hitherto their wont, by great numbers of them returning to their homes. The Russians, taught by the experience of the past year, made the most extensive preparations for the forthcoming campaign—the total inability to proceed without a full supply of provisions and stores laid up in a regular system of magazines, and forwarded to the fighting corps, by established and well-guarded lines of communication, having been fatally demonstrated.\*

At the commencement of the second campaign, the Russian army amounted in all to 150,000 men. The Turkish regular force was rather less than in the autumn of 1828. Forty-five thousand Russians proceeded to the siege of Silistria, which had been raised on the approach of winter. The remainder appear to have been placed in various positions menacing Schumla, and preparing for the passage of the Balkan should occasion offer.

Pravadi, a small town situated between Varna and Schumla, and on the road leading from Bazarjik, through Aidos, to Constantinople, was recognized by the Grand Vizier as an important strategical point, which would enable the Russians to turn the position of Schumla, and lay open the plains of Adrianople. Here the Russians had assembled ten thousand men. The Grand Vizier attacked it with thirty-five thousand men; and whilst he was occupied in besieging it, Diebitsch planned and executed the passage of the Balkan.

"General Diebitsch marched from Silistria, desiring Generals Roth and Rudiger to inclose the Turks in the defiles of Pravadi (with the garrison of that place closing them in its rear), until he himself could arrive with his army. Meantime, Ibrahim Pacha, who was left at Schumla, summoned the Grand Vizier to his relief." A battle ensued, in the afternoon of the 11th June,

\* A curious indication, with many others, of the long matured designs of Russia for an attack upon Turkey, is offered by the fact, well known in the London trade, that the Russian medical department purchased, at the commencement of the present year, four times their usual amount of quinine, the chief medicine for the intermittent fever arising from malaria. It is customary with that government to purchase six months' consumption at a time. The order was this year for an amount equal to two years' consumption. The circumstance occasioned much surprise, until the mystery was solved by recent events.



at Kouleftja, in which, after a sanguinary conflict, and hemmed in on all sides, the Turks at length fled. "The Russians had in the battle forty thousand men and one hundred guns."

The garrison of Schumla had, during the battle, made a diversion in the rear of the Russians; but became, as it would appear, panic-struck, to which the Turks are peculiarly liable, retired with haste, and even abandoned the redoubts in front of Schumla. Had General Diebitsch followed up his victory, which, however, he may not have been in a position to do, he must have carried Schumla itself. Two days afterwards, the Grand Vizier regained that encampment with thirty thousand men; having lost in the engagement at Pravadi three thousand, and the Russians very few less.

Silistria surrendered, on the 30th June, for want of ammunition—the Russians having effected two practicable breaches, and prepared five mines. The Turks, having expended their powder, could not risk an assault, or history might have recorded a second Rustchuk.

General Diebitsch then made a feint of attacking Schumla, till the Grand Vizier had recalled his detachments from all the passes. In order further to deceive the Turks, Diebitsch retreated on Jeni-Bazaar, six leagues on the road to Silistria. He then turned suddenly towards Devra and Keuprikioi. In order to pass the Balkan, each soldier was supplied with four days' food, and the wagons brought sufficient for ten days' more. Ten thousand men were left to watch Schumla, and to assault it if the Vizier moved. The Vizier sent instantly ten thousand men to intercept Diebitsch at Keuprikioi; but the Russians had already passed through, and were on their way to Selimnia. The Russians passed the Balkan with only forty thousand men; of whom, in ten days afterwards, ten thousand were in the hospitals. If the Turks had shown front, from place to place, the Russians must have retreated towards the sea for provisions.

Thus the famous Balkans, with the Great Gate of Constantinople, as we may fairly term Schumla, were effectually turned. The fall of Adrianople succeeded, and Turkey appeared for the first time prostrate under its conqueror. It is very doubtful how far this was really the case. The Russians at Adrianople could not bring forty thousand men into the field. Their line of communication was insecure, and their troops were dying off by thousands. "Of six thousand sick at Adrianople, every one died in three months." The total loss of the Russians in the two campaigns is calculated at the frightful number of "one hundred and forty thousand men and fifty thousand horses."\*

It is quite clear from the above narrative that the Balkans ought not to have been forced, and that the success of this daring passage of arms was due rather to the skill of the general

\* It is only proper to observe that the account given in *The Portfolio*, from which the parts above quoted are drawn, appears essentially Turkish. We may rely, however, on the general facts here stated.

than to the want of bravery or of ability in the defenders. It was an event which may or may not recur, but with strong chances against the repetition. The forces, moreover, were very unequally matched, and yet the Turks lost but little ground in the first campaign, and, but for their misfortune at Pravadi, would probably have lost but a few fortresses in the second. The Russians again had the entire command of the sea, on which their left flank rested, with Varna as their base, and their fleet was of incalculable service in the siege and capture of Sizepoli, a fortress on the coast commanding the harbor of Bourgas, in the early part of the campaign, which gave them a ready communication with the sea for provisions and ammunition after crossing the Balkan.

We have in the above accounts gone somewhat into detail, in order to bring before our readers the real state of the matter, as it has been laid open by past wars. We confess, at the same time, to having another and more immediately important object,—to inspire a wholesome confidence in the public mind, not only in the justice of the cause on which this great country has (virtually) embarked, but also in its perfect ability to uphold the same if necessary, by force of arms, as we now hope to show.

Out of the five campaigns above sketched, the Russians gained a decisive success in but one. It by no means appears that they would have gained this but for two circumstances—their command of the sea, which, with the possession of Varna and Sizepoli, insured in some degree their communications and supplies, and, as we have before said, a very successful stroke of generalship. What, then, would have happened had there been forty thousand French and British troops covering Adrianople? What, if British and French fleets had maintained the line of the coast, and prevented any Russian squadrons or transports from accompanying or supplying their troops on the march? It is obvious the thing could not have been attempted at all. It is not, indeed, equally obvious that Varna would not have been captured; but it is not impossible that in Turkish hands, with the assistance of a friendly squadron, that most important place, with respect both to land and sea operations, would have proved a second Acre. Varna, as covering the right flank of the great positions on the Balkan, and as, conjointly with Constantinople, a basis of naval operations against Odessa and Sebastopol, should be defended, it is clear, to the last, in any war of defence undertaken by the western nations on behalf of Turkey.

Adrianople, the second city in the empire, next claims our attention. Placed at the confluence of the Maritza, the Toundja and the Arda; being the point to which the roads from the

various passes of the Balkan converge, with exception alone of that from Aidos; possessing water communication with the Levant for vessels of moderate tonnage, by the Maritza and the Gulf of Enos; thus at once covering the approaches on Constantinople and supporting the positions of the Balkan—seems marked out by its position as the last bulwark of the empire. Marshal Marmont, who, in the earlier part of his career, had made Turkey his special study (having been ordered by Napoleon, after the treaty of Tilsit, to send officers into the country on various pretexts, to examine and report upon its military capabilities), and who in the latter part of his life, when an exile, revisited the scene of his former labors, has left us an instructive chapter on the relations of that empire to the various European Powers and on the strategical advantages of Adrianople in particular. The picture, indeed, which he draws is the exact reverse of what is now the case—he presumes the Russians to have entered Turkey, and, with the consent of the Turks, to be holding it against Austria, France and England. After providing for the security of the Dardanelles and of Constantinople, he proposes to place the “remainder of the army, that is to say, forty thousand men at Adrianople, and to form there an intrenched camp, similar to the fortifications around Lintz, consisting of an extended system of towers, and with due advantage taken of the rivers which there flow into the Maritza. Eighteen or twenty towers would render that post unassailable; an army of thirty to forty thousand men could not be shut up within it, while it would hold one of eighty thousand in check, who could not venture to leave it in their rear.”\* The accomplished author subsequently considers the opposite case, of the western nations becoming the defenders of Turkey, and candidly admits that the brilliant advantages he had depicted as accruing to the Russians from a presumed defensive position taken in Turkey with the consent of the Turks, belong in truth to the first occupant. The sentence which follows is so curiously illustrative of (in part at least) the present situation, that we cannot resist transcribing it *verbatim*, merely premising that the work was published in 1837:—

En effet, si une flotte française et anglaise, passe le détroit des Dardanelles, et arrive à Constantinople : si en même temps un corps de cinquante mille hommes de l’alliance, autrichien ou français, vient prendre position à Andrinople, et y établir le camp retranché dont j’ai parlé, alors les Russes ont d’immenses difficultés à vaincre pour enlever ces positions à leurs ennemis : dès ce moment leur escadre rentre à Sébastopol, et n’en sort plus, etc. etc.†

Put “British” for “Austrian,” in the category of troops

\* *Voyage du Maréchal Duc de Raguse*, ii. 121.

† *Ibid.* p. 126.

which should be opposed, if the worst come to the worst, to Russian aggression, and the picture would seem not unlikely to be realized.

We have purposely abstained from touching on the grave question, "What is to be done with Turkey?" It is, indeed, a question, the responsibilities of which may well make statesmen tremble. But we fail to perceive that the course of Providence has yet put it to us. What we do know is our present plain path of duty. No verbal sophisms, no diplomatic niceties, no risk even to our own beloved land, must keep us from *that*. A nation, like an individual, has an end for which to live. Better to cease to live than give up that end for which it came into being. "Death before dishonor." Right is at this moment invaded by unjust power, and the strong arm of the brave must come, if needs be, to the rescue. A "wilful King" aims at interference with the manifest course of Providential government, to turn its righteous decrees to his own account. He invades under the name of peace. To justify his violence he pleads facts that never had being, and principles that have no place save in the mind that blinds itself to the real truth of things. Let the wise take warning. What will be the end we know not yet. But our hope is in Him who "giveth not the race to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." And with truth and justice, and that sympathy which was not withheld even from the outcast Samaritan—all these for us, we may surely quote against the northern invader, his own biblical motto for the war, if to war we at last be driven—DOMINE IN TE SPERAVI, NE CONFUNDAR IN ÆTERNUM.

#### Art. VI.—RISE AND PROGRESS OF AMERICAN COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

##### No. I.

A RETROSPECTIVE glance at the rise and progress of American commerce and navigation seems to be expected in connection with the statistics of our rise and progress as a nation. The American Revolution occurred at a time when the gigantic energies of European sovereignties had ostensibly attained their utmost vigor, and could well command the empire of the seas, as they had sole dominion of the earth. Trade, foreign and domestic, had endured many changes and fluctuations since the discovery of new routes to the Pacific seas; but it seemed at length to have acquired a permanency of character, equipoising between the Dutch, the French, and the English. The colonies of America, like the colonies of Great Britain in the East and West Indies now, had contributed to the wealth, resources, and



material prosperity of the mother country; and even though oppressed by heinous exactions, and contrary to the general destiny of those whose interests the British nation undertakes to promote, incongruous as were the elements of its unity, gave every promise of thriving, and achieving a name of its own. At this juncture, the storm of politics burst forth, rending every tie but that of patriotism; and in a few years, a few months, there floated to the shore, from off of this tempestuous ocean, but the wrecks of those simple but sacred institutions which the colonists for their welfare had reared. Fortunately, if the tide of war, severer in this instance than usually interrupts the career of nations, tore away the frail industrial supports of the embryo confederacy, it left to the people their liberties; and on this rock they undertook to rebuild those edifices of power and utility which their previous trials and triumphs in civil life had made only humbly to resemble. They set about removing the wrecks which had floated by their doors, obstructing the highways to wealth and distinction. While some turned their attention to the plough and anvil, others laid the keels of vessels for ocean navigation, and necessity schooled mariners to steer them. Others, again, entered the factory, or rekindled the fires of the furnace, while a fourth class extended piers, and erected warehouses to accommodate them.

And now was heard the clang of hammers, the hum of commercial strife, and the clatter of the winnowing-mill and flail. From the epoch of the Revolution American industry has its date.

The census returns just published show the extraordinary progress that has been made in our industrial arts, and the success that has attended our endeavors to remove the natural barriers to migration and the spread of population; but they do not embrace the results of our mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial enterprise, nor convey thereby information of the actual physical condition of a country which had its foundation laid but yesterday.

The entire foreign commerce of the United States, in 1790, did not amount in the aggregate to more than the foreign traffic now conducted by the city of Boston, and far less than that transacted now by New-Orleans or New-York. The colonies had been forced to imitate the example of the parent country, and adopt a tariff system, which contributed mainly to retard the development of their commercial spirit. Five years elapsed after the peace of 1785, and the States found themselves, although politically united in effect, still in injurious antagonism to each other as regarded their commercial relations. The original thirteen States framed a Constitution,\* to which their allegiance

\* The Articles of Confederation.

was due; but which had been purposely so drawn up as to deny Congress the right of legislating on the subject of imposing commercial duties. This right was claimed as a reservation to the States individually,\* and until they consented to confer that authority upon the General Government, each sought to apply it to the best local advantage. Consequently there resulted, as we have said, an injurious antagonism among the States singly and as a whole; for the duties imposed by New-York were not likely to be transcripts of those of Massachusetts, while between Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, States contiguous by territory, and washed by the same waters, a policy existed, no less at variance. While one advocated and carried a measure for taxing foreign merchandise, the other opposed contrary views; and thus a wide field was opened, inviting the worst forms of contrabrandism. Again, a tonnage duty was also exacted, one of the confederates refusing to trammel trade even in this respect, while another, led by counter convictions, deemed it essential to the welfare of the community. As there had been no previous fraternal union among the colonies, neither could there at once be founded a permanent commercial understanding among the States, each one of which, in its recovered and enlarged independence, felt jealous of vesting too much power in a central head, thus virtually exalted above the individual parties to the compact. Even when it was proposed that Congress should levy a duty of 5 per centum *ad valorem* on foreign merchandise imported, with which to liquidate the claims of the soldiers of the Revolution, and meet the interest falling due on the Federal debt, the negative of the little State of Rhode Island was sufficient to defeat the project.

It became obvious, finally, to the most conservative, that such a course was as destructive of the material interests of the Union as pernicious in its social results. Besides, when our ministers or envoys plenipotentiary, accredited abroad, attempted to effect commercial treaties with the nations of Europe, they were met, in most cases, with a decided refusal. France was willing to aid an oppressed people, struggling for freedom, because in this it served itself against Great Britain; but after the Revolution had declared in our favor, and a lull began to succeed the turmoil of politics in Europe, opinions and sympathies underwent a radical change. The nations of the Continent had not cared much whether we succeeded in our revolutionary endeavor or not; and England treated the result more as a humiliation than a vital loss; but when we manifested a disposition to launch our vessels upon the seas, and to compete for that trade which the old world had continued to regard as legitimately its own,

\* Or, what was equivalent, their entire consent was necessary before Congress could pass any act of a tariff character on commerce.

antipathies were for the time suppressed, and almost a universal and unanimous combination was formed against us. They refused to recognize us as a commercial people, by refusing to negotiate treaties with us on the subject.

It was then that the stubborn policy of the States was reflected back upon them in its true light. Great Britain and France took a decided but covert part in continuing things as they were; but thanks to the wise suggestions of the fathers of the country, the people everywhere began to grow distrustful of their own policy, and to inquire into the expediency of modifying the Articles of Confederation, and conferring upon Congress the exclusive right of meddling with commerce.

A National Convention was held, and, as a feature in the arrangement of a new Constitution, commerce was generally provided for. The Secretary of the Treasury, in 1791, in reply to a resolution of inquiry of the House of Representatives, submitted the basis of a commercial system. He argued—which was in direct hostility to the preconceived prejudices of half the American people, who had early imbibed many of the false notions of the mother country—that duties imposed upon imports would be highly disadvantageous to us in building up a foreign trade, and suggested that trade, for the time at least, should be free and unrestricted. "Instead," said the Secretary, "of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, it should be relieved from all its shackles, in all parts of the world. Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin with that nation."

From this period to the present, the trade and navigation of the United States deserve to be treated of under separate heads.

The suggestion that imports should be admitted into the country free, met with sufficient approbation to induce Congress to refer the question of imposing protective or revenue duties to future legislation. The political condition of Europe had, meanwhile, undergone a change. Its recent tranquillity had been disturbed; and turbulent and threatening movements indicated the approach of a violent, if not overwhelming, storm. It came, and burst upon Europe, inundating the whole Continent with blood. The American Confederacy had been spared all participation in the cause, and therefore evaded the stroke; and this escape, so opportune to it in every respect, infused a spirit into the masses generally to prepare measures for benefiting by the rupture abroad. The country was still new, and the ground had barely been broken for either the grain crop or the shipyard; but the arms which had directed the bayonet for liberty, were soon taught to handle the plough in the wilderness, and the

rudder on the deep. The countries of Europe which had supplied fish to the then prosperous West Indies, had necessarily to withdraw their vessels and countermand their orders. The Indies clamored for provisions, and our merchants and farmers undertook, more energetically than ever, to respond to the call. "The wars of the French Revolution," says Dr. Seybert,\* "created a demand for our exports, and invited our shipping for the carrying trade of a very considerable portion of Europe: we not only carried the colonial productions to the several parent States, but we also became the purchasers of them in the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies. A new era was established in our commercial history. The individuals who partook of these advantages were numerous; our catalogue of merchants was swelled much beyond what it was entitled to be from the state of our population. Many persons who had secured moderate capitals from mechanical pursuits, soon became adventurers; and the most adventurous became the most wealthy, and that without the knowledge of any of the principles which govern commerce under ordinary circumstances. No one was limited to any one branch of trade; the same individual was concerned in voyages to Asia, South America, the West Indies, and Europe. Our tonnage increased in a ratio with the extended catalogue of the exports; we seemed to have arrived at the maximum of human prosperity; in proportion to our population, we ranked as the most commercial of nations; in point of value, our trade was only second to that of Great Britain."

The lapse from 1790 to 1807—a period of seventeen years—was more propitious to the commercial interests of the United States than would have been any ordinary period of treble duration. It had the effect of moulding and stamping the American character thenceforth. It induced every one to seek a vocation, for a tempting price was held out as a reward for all manner of labor. It encouraged, above all, persons to turn their attention to agriculture; for in that consisted the principal demand which Europe and the West Indies had made upon our industry. It urged, as by so many words, mariners to rig their ships, fishermen to man their shallops, husbandmen to sow crops, and merchants to construct storehouses. The ambition thus aroused, and continuing to be rewarded for seventeen years, could not be repressed by self-will, nor suppressed by external force. Although seeking by every available means to maintain each other, the belligerent nations of Europe could not contemplate unmoved the wealth which the Americans were accumulating through their maritime channels; and in this they made common cause, that they permitted the most flagi-

\* Statistics of United States, p. 61.



tious outrages to be committed by their cruisers upon American shipping, in the hope to extinguish our growing commerce; but a hope entertained in vain. Our imports for domestic consumption declined as our exports increased. Every year we seemed to become less dependent upon foreign countries, while in turn they became more and more dependent on us. During the seventeen years stated, the following were the returns made of our foreign trade:—

YEARS.	Imports.	Exports.	YEARS.	Imports.	Exports.
1791.....	\$52,200,000.....	\$19,012,041	1800.....	\$91,252,768.....	\$70,971,780
1792.....	31,500,000.....	20,753,098	1801.....	111,363,511.....	94,115,925
1793.....	31,100,000.....	26,109,572	1802.....	76,353,333.....	72,453,160
1794.....	34,600,000.....	33,026,232	1803.....	64,700,000.....	55,800,033
1795.....	69,756,268.....	47,929,472	1804.....	85,000,000.....	77,699,074
1796.....	81,436,164.....	67,064,097	1805.....	120,000,000.....	95,566,021
1797.....	75,379,406.....	56,850,206	1806.....	129,000,000.....	101,530,963
1798.....	68,551,700.....	61,527,097	1807.....	138,000,000.....	108,343,150
1799.....	79,068,148.....	78,665,522		—	—

The imports down to 1791 had been mainly, if not all, consumed in the American markets; after this period, large invoices, amounting to over one-third the gross aggregate, were imported for the Mediterranean and West India markets. The exports, it will be seen, had increased from \$19,000,000 to \$138,000,000. But the violation of our shipping on the high seas had now become so frequent, and in character so wanton, that it was unsafe to send out cargoes except to near ports; and insurance and botromry had so risen, in consequence of the dangers to be apprehended, that some action was necessary on the part of the Federal Government to endeavor to arrest the evils. As a people we numbered four millions, but, without a navy, it was as if we had numbered but four hundred. Our defences and revenues were trifling compared with those of our aggressive neighbors. It was with some embarrassment that we dared to expend \$6,000,000 per annum for the support of the General Government. The sales of public lands amounted to little over half a million. So that \$16,000,000 of the \$17,000,000 of revenue were expected and exacted from our commerce. If we had declared war, our foreign trade would have been destroyed, and the nation bankrupted, without immediate remedy. Under these circumstances, the General Government pursued the only expedient course left to it—it pronounced an embargo, which should partially relieve our commerce from the depredations of pirates sailing under the flags of friendly nations. As nothing is more fatal to the interests of a nation than an embargo directed against maritime intercourse, being literally a prohibition against trade, so in this instance the greatest immediate sufferers were our own merchants, and, after them, the agricultural classes. But the general benefit to the country, on the other hand, was to be taken into

consideration ; so that, notwithstanding the act was temporarily unpopular, all finally concurred in admitting its policy and expediency. It had the result,, as was foreseen, of ridding the high seas of piratical cruisers, and of restoring confidence among the underwriters and vessel-owners. The Embargo Act lasted two years, but, short as was the period of its imposition, it had well-nigh prostrated our commercial energies, as the following figures will show :—

YEARS.	Imports.	Exports.	YEARS.	Imports.	Exports.
1808. ....	\$56,940,000. ....	\$22,430,900	1809. ....	\$59,400,000. ....	\$52,203,231

This falling off from \$138,000,000 of imports to \$56,000,000, and exports from \$108,000,000 to \$22,000,000, was most paralyzing and discouraging ; but the land furnished the necessaries of life, and our merchant vessels were hauled up for repairs ; while those who had been engaged in pursuits identified with commerce, turned their attention to speculating in real estate, and clearing the soil.

We have said that the country was poor, and that the government depended mainly on the customs for revenue. Its civil list cost about \$1,400,000 per annum, its military establishment \$3,100,000 ; and its naval establishment \$1,800,000. Its entire expenditure for civil and military support was \$6,500,000, and its income \$17,000,000 ; but the Embargo Act caused the revenue to fall to less than \$8,000,000. The government was not, therefore, in a condition to increase either its civil, its military, or its naval establishment, without incurring a further debt, which there was not even a prospective hope of paying ; besides, the veterans of 1776, or their relicts, had claims before Congress, which neither Congress nor the nation would think of denouncing or refusing.

Meanwhile concert of action, in any measure, could be carried on only with great difficulty. The people occupied a continent, but it would have been much better had they occupied as many acres as they owned square miles. Two thousand post-offices had been located, and thirty-six thousand miles of post routes opened ; but of what avail for the speedy transmission of intelligence were either, situated as the former were scores of miles apart, and the latter were travelled only once, on an average, a fortnight ?

Under such circumstances, the blow that had fallen upon trade was the more severely felt. But the spirit of enterprise remained. No sooner had the embargo been removed, than this fact was manifested in the prompt manner with which our merchants seized upon the opportunity again to extend their transactions :

	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>		<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
1810.....	\$85,400,000.....	\$66,757,974	1811.....	\$53,400,000.....	\$61,316,831

It seemed, however, that although Great Britain invoked Europe against Napoleon, whose greatest crime in its eyes consisted in his endeavor to destroy its commerce, it did not hesitate to commit acts against others quite in keeping with his acts against that power. British cruisers, under one pretext or another, persisted in legitimatizing piracy on the high seas, and making our shipping mainly the sufferer. This wholesale iniquity, combined with other causes of complaint, led the way to the war of 1812; and from 1811 to 1815, another period, disastrous to our trade, intervened.

	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>		<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
1812.....	\$77,030,000.....	\$38,527,236	1814.....	\$12,965,000.....	\$6,927,441
1813.....	\$22,005,000.....	\$27,855,997			

Thus our foreign trade fell in importance to a point below what it had been during many periods in our colonial history. But from this point also it took another rise, and has continued, despite adverse legislation, to increase, until at present it ranks in magnitude next to the leading maritime power of the world. [See Table A, annexed.]

In a country so extensive as the United States, with an abundance of land, and labor comparatively low, it is strange that Congress should have conceived the intention of forcing the people into pursuits so antagonistical to their interests. With us, from the first year of our confederacy to the present day, agricultural employments have been those best adapted to the promotion of our welfare; and if, with all the skill we have acquired, means at our command, and experience obtained, agriculture is still the local pursuit which insures the largest reward, how much more were we dependent on the soil during the weakest and least capable period of our history? But Congress, without reflecting that we were not the consumers only, saw with apprehension that the immense cargoes which our vessels carried from our shores, were more than counterbalanced by the cargoes of European merchandise with which they returned. That body deemed it a point of wisdom to coerce the country to become a gigantic manufacturing establishment—to discard the rich fruits of the soil, with which we purchased fabrics for our own and the West India markets, to abandon a policy and system of labor by which we furnished Europe with necessities of life in exchange for goods that were needful at home, and which were required, in place of money, to buy cargoes of merchandise and products of the West Indies, without which, otherwise, our relations must have been cut off.

The proposition that a country, so new as our own, in which, as we have said, lands were cheap and wages comparatively low, should become a manufacturing establishment, sufficiently competent to rival the old and experienced nations of Europe, was as preposterous as impossible. Not so thought our legislators. They argued, and with truth, that our rivers traversed the country in every direction, and poured into the ocean at convenient points along the coast, with a shore extent of 4,000 miles; that nature had in this afforded us avenues to market which required neither repair nor concern—had supplied us with plenty of wood, coals, and minerals—had built dams for us, and stocked the earth with timber, and, in a word, prepared a habitation that needed only industry to render life as prosperous in it, in one branch of business, as another. If these considerations (only requiring the plausibility of argument to guarantee them) sufficed to warrant a people to abandon an obvious advantage for another extremely doubtful, the argument was fairly and forcibly put; but it is a view that has misled before, and will mislead again. The woodman, with an axe upon his shoulder, has little to contend for but creating a market for his timber; the husbandman, with a few sheep, a rake and a hoe, may both feed himself, and furnish a crop of wool to the manufacturer; and the agriculturist may gather profits from his first sowing, although he settles in the midst of a wilderness, and fences his inclosures with brushwood. Is this all that is needful to the manufacturer—no additional preparation, experience or means? An immense capital, when an extensive competition is thought of, is required; that capital does not only supply material and hands, but it is made to replace every loss incurred in experiments. Time, too, is requisite, as well as the establishment of an intimate correspondence throughout the world—time for getting machinery in operation, for testing material, and becoming familiar with the minutia of fabricating, for instructing hands, and establishing (what might be called) schools of apprenticeship in the workshop and factory; and a general correspondence, in order that, by a system of reciprocity, every improvement might be had in season, and every kind of information imparted and obtained that would conduce to extend discovery, and promote the industry of all. America was prepared for no such steps; and the endeavor to force the people to abandon their legitimate (because more natural) pursuits, fishing and agriculture, was one of those evil counsels that often obtrude upon deliberative assemblies. In consequence, an act was passed the year after the proclamation of peace with Great Britain (1816), in which heavy duties were imposed upon fabricated goods imported from Europe. The result of this interference with the course of trade is shown by



the returns between the years 1816 and 1833, since when other modifications have been made. The act of 1816 was followed up by another in 1824, one in 1828, and another in 1832. These severally and entirely had in contemplation the raising of revenue, and, as it was averred, the *protection* of American interests. The best reply that can be made to the policy of these acts, is that which the returns furnish, by which we perceive that our exports, for a period of sixteen years, *remained almost stationary, and our imports declined to \$46,000,000!*

So much for tariff restrictions. But other facts, relating to the financial difficulties of the period, and which had their influence on the welfare of the country, claim their share of attention. We will return to this again hereafter, and also continue to review our commerce in a future number of the REVIEW. Meanwhile, we have reserved to speak of our navigation as a separate, but not a distinct feature of the subject.

In a paper published on the Colonial Trade of America,\* it appears that the proportion of shipping owned in this country prior to the War of the Revolution, employed in the trade of the Colonies and Great Britain, was as follows:—

In the Colonies of	Proportion of vessels belonging to merchants resident in the British European dominions.	Proportion of vessels belonging to British merchants occasionally resident in those colonies that now form the U. States.	Proportion of vessels belonging to merchants who were natives and permanent inhabitants of those colonies that are now the United States.
New-England.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
New-York.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Pennsylvania.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Maryland and Virginia.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
North Carolina.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
South Carolina and Georgia.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

Owned by British subjects resident in the British dominions, six-eighths of the whole; owned by the colonists, two-eighths of the whole—that is, only about one-third was owned by residents proper of the colonies. The number and tonnage of vessels employed between the colonies and the British West India Islands were as follows:—

Navigating between	Belonging to British residents in the colonies or British dominions.		Belonging to the Colonists.		Total.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Colonies and British colonies.....	43.....	1,869.....	131.....	5,609.....	174.....	7,478
Am. colonies and Brit. W. I.....	93.....	4,480.....	631.....	31,423.....	724.....	35,912
	136.....	6,358.....	762.....	37,032.....	918.....	43,390
Gr. Britain and Am. colonies.....	497.....	65,058.....	165.....	21,686.....	662.....	86,744
	633.....	71,416.....	927.....	58,718.....	1,560.....	130,134

Thus it will be seen that at the opening of the Revolutionary

\* Report of the Lords of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, 1791. Appendix, p. xxi.

War, of the vessels and tonnage trading between the American colonies and Great Britain, amounting to 662 vessels, and 86,744 tons, British owners held 497 vessels and 65,058 tons—otherwise, six-eighths of the whole; that of the vessels and tonnage trading to the British West Indies, and other British colonies, amounting to 918 vessels, and 43,390 tons, British owners held 136 vessels and 6,358 tons, or about one-sixth of the whole. From this statement it will be seen that, while the distant foreign trade with the British dominions was almost wholly in the hands of British subjects having a permanent residence elsewhere than in the colonies of America, the near trade with the British possessions was almost wholly in the hands of the colonists. Therefore, the actual tonnage of all kinds, trading from the American ports with the British dominions, amounted to 1,580 vessels and 130,134 tons. After the war, intercourse between the United States and British dominions was resumed, with the following shipping:—

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Belonging to Great Britain trading with the United States.....	261	32,592
"    to    "    "    "    between the United States and British col. 158.....		10,219
"    to    "    "    "    between the U. States and B. W. Indies... 181.....		20,912
	600	83,723
Belonging to the United States trading with Great Britain.....	163	26,564
"    to the    "    "    "    "    West Indies.....	none	none.
	763	110,287

On this basis was resumed intercourse between the United States and the parent country. We shall trace the progress of this intercourse hereafter.

## A.

YEARS.	Imports.	Exports.	YEARS.	Imports.	Exports.
1815.....	\$113,041,374	\$52,557,753	1835.....	\$149,895,742	\$121,693,507
1816.....	147,103,000	81,920,452	1836.....	189,980,035	128,663,040
1817.....	99,250,000	87,671,569	1837.....	140,989,217	117,419,376
1818.....	121,750,000	93,281,133	1838.....	108,486,616	113,717,404
1819.....	87,125,000	70,142,521	1839.....	121,028,416	162,092,132
1820.....	74,450,000	69,691,669	1840.....	131,571,950	104,805,891
1821.....	62,585,734	64,974,382	1841.....	127,946,177	121,851,803
1822.....	83,241,541	72,160,281	1842.....	100,162,087	104,691,534
1823.....	77,579,267	74,699,030	1843.....	64,733,799*	84,346,480*
1824.....	80,549,007	75,986,657	1844.....	108,435,035	111,200,046
1825.....	96,340,075	99,535,388	1845.....	117,354,564	114,646,606
1826.....	84,974,477	77,595,322	1846.....	121,691,790	113,488,576
1827.....	79,484,068	82,324,827	1847.....	146,545,638	158,648,622
1828.....	88,509,824	72,264,686	1848.....	154,977,928	154,036,436
1829.....	74,492,527	72,358,671	1849.....	147,857,439	145,755,820
1830.....	70,876,920	73,849,508	1850.....	178,138,318	136,946,912
1831.....	103,191,134	81,310,583	1851.....	216,224,932	216,388,011
1832.....	101,029,266	87,176,943	1852.....	212,613,988	209,641,625
1833.....	108,118,311	90,140,433	1853.....	207,678,647	239,486,875
1834.....	196,521,332	104,336,973	1854.....	—	—

\* Nine months.

## ART. VII.—INSOLVENCY AMONGST MERCHANTS.

It is not the purpose of this brief article to treat of the legal relations of debtor and creditor. That is a theme which has been exhausted by the best talent of the bar and bench. Our desire is, rather, to throw out some reflections as to the moral relations and duties of the unfortunate insolvent and the injured creditor.

There is not, perhaps, a more practical, every-day subject, than this. If it is true, that ninety out of every hundred of our mercantile community have, one time or another, failed; and if it is true, that the uncertainties of commerce are especially experienced in the South, then it can be well understood that it is no holiday theme we discuss.

There is hardly a year which passes away but that the duties involved in these relations are debated,—we fear with little practical benefit.

The position of an embarrassed Merchant is no "bed of roses." The anxious days and sleepless nights of the man of commerce, whose good name has been his pride, and whose pride may be his woeful ruin, fill up many a thrilling scene in the great battle of life. Indeed, so fearful is the conflict which is waged in the human breast, under such trying circumstances, that most men seek to clothe their distress in a callousness and levity of mien, which, though at war with all their previous deportment, too soon becomes part of their natures. We thus have the painful exhibitions of indifference to money obligations, that justly forms the reproach of many mercantile communities. The injury inflicted upon the credit of whole cities, by such a reputation, is not to be measured, but is keenly felt at every turn, and in all external intercourse of every trader who lives in such communities. How important in such view, then, is the existence of a high moral sense in every body of merchants! With a tone of unswerving probity pervading the commercial classes of a city, the security of a creditor is greater than any which all the statutes for the collection of debt can ever give him.

What, then, is the duty of an embarrassed merchant? We take it for granted that no business man is ever in such a state without foreseeing it long beforehand, and that the day of disaster seldom, if ever, comes with crushing suddenness upon any one. Such misfortunes are generally of gradual growth and approach. It is not by one sudden deluge, but by the slow-wearing attrition of extravagance and misconduct, that the bulwarks of mercantile fortune are usually swept away. But whether

speedily or slowly; whether suddenly as a "thief in the night," or gradually as "the gnawing tooth of time," bankruptcy arrives to few men without many *avant courriers* of its coming. Nay, that knowledge is generally long felt before the world is ever made aware of its imminence. And it is one of the most painful and bitter attendants of insolvency that it has been hugged, with a Spartan heroism, to the secret bosom which it rends, long—long before the inquisitive world is made aware of its approach. The cheerful face, the placid smile, and what to a proud, true and honest heart is still more agonizing, the petty deception and misrepresentation are all to be worn and used, when the soul is sinking with its accumulating burden, and is sick with despair at the prospect before it. Many and devious are the devices of that burdened heart for escape. Like the hunted and wearied stag, it tries first the stream and then the wood, that it may elude the pursuit of its close-chasing misfortunes; at length, however, with strength all gone, and resources all spent, it is brought to bay, and its brave race is over.

What, then, is the true path of the merchant, standing on the verge of bankruptcy, with no sure and certain help, turn him which way he will? We believe there is but one answer—surrender. Let false pride, leading to still falser morality, be thrown aside, and let the oppressed trader manfully and frankly say to his creditors, "I am no longer worthy of credit, and will delude you no more; take all I have, and give me the best settlement my circumstances seem to you to justify." Let the embarrassed debtor act thus, and not endeavor to sustain himself by plunging deeper and deeper into the mire. Let him reflect that attempts to sustain a tottering fortune by larger extension of credit seldom, if ever, succeeds. The merchant who endeavors to meet his engagements by buying on credit, that he may realize money at a sacrifice, wherewith to bolster up his sinking credit, is almost certain to accumulate further losses, and, sooner or later, to come down with such a crash as may involve those whose poverty and confidence render his misfortune doubly painful. Nor is this to be wondered at. For he enters into his operations, not thinking, am I prudent, or is it safe, but only or mainly reflecting how soon he can get cash for his credit-purchases, and how long he can meet old liabilities with newly acquired funds. With such aims it would be impossible for any one to trade successfully, or safely. For, difficult as it is to form a correct estimate of the course of the markets, with the fullest information, the most accurate statistics—carefully analyzed by the clearest and most dispassionate judgment—how much more difficult to forecast the future of *Prices Current*, when our first inquiry blinds us against anything but our wishes, which are but fathers, oftentimes, to our conclusions!



But to argue at length against such a course, is almost superfluous. The immorality of it is not quite so obvious, or if so, has not so often pressed on our minds. We have supposed our merchant near the verge of open bankruptcy, and we have supposed him conscious of the peril of his position. We now suppose him entering the marts where his name has been esteemed, and where his actual condition is unknown. We find him buying of this and then that commodity; too often settling his accounts with a falsehood on his lips, or deception in his conversation, fearful, lest even the beating of his secret heart may reveal what is known only there. We find him putting his name to a printed form of promissory note—agreeing that on such a day, he will, for value received, pay his creditor the amount he owes him. Hurriedly does he sign his name, lest conscience may upbraid him with the lie he is writing, and hastily does he go forth with the ill-gotten goods, for no other term should be applied. In possession of these new resources, the hard-pressed merchant commences to sell the property at any and every price, so as to obtain the readiest and most available supply of cash. The regular and slow payment of his customers does not now satisfy him—for he is not aiming to meet his recent obligations, incurred by the purchases of the property he is selling, but only to pay off a debt of more ancient date, and more pressing character. Thus he goes on, robbing Peter to pay Paul—every day showing a wider gap between his assets and resources, until finally he is brought to his last dollar, and the long-impending failure occurs. We have but faintly put such a course in its true light. We wish we had words adequate to describe it in all its real folly and turpitude, so that each and every merchant might see it, stripped of all the petty excuses and miserable apologies which so often conceal the dishonesty of such a policy. It was in the review of just such transactions that we once heard the gifted and lamented Prentiss say to a jury, that conduct of this kind made the name *merchant* a term of reproach, well derived from *mercator*, *thief*.

But perhaps we may be told, that oftentimes just such a course as we describe has enabled a house to weather a storm and double a point, beyond which prosperity and wealth attended them at every step, and subsequently posts of honor and usefulness were attained. Doubtless a few instances are remembered, whilst the countless thousands of houses lost in the storm are forgotten. Just so the card-table and lottery have, here and there, rescued a fallen fortune from ruin, and a fair name from disgrace. The many myriads who have had a different experience, we need not mention. Success may sometimes conceal forever the dishonor and dishonesty of the gambling merchant—but can never justify him. For, we take it, that it can never be right to enter into

promises, when our ability to fulfil them is known to be almost impossible; nor can it be right to take the property of one creditor to pay off our obligations to another, leaving the first to stand the brunt of losses, which should most naturally fall on the latter.

Having now discussed the duty of the insolvent, and clearly shown that his true course is to surrender, at the moment he is satisfied, to meet fully all his obligations, let us consider his duty, *after suspension*. His position now is one of singular difficulty and delicacy. From being the debtor, he has become, in some sort, the agent and trustee of his creditors, and a heavy moral responsibility rests upon his shoulders. His creditors are of every sort and class—many are laborers, and some are poor; many are friends, who have been his endorsers or securities without compensation or return; many are strangers or planters, whose property he has been appointed to sell, the proceeds of which seem almost sacred. Justice to all, and favor to none, would seem to be the clearest dictate of duty; but no general and equal distribution can ever precisely attain this, when the obligation of the debts is unequal. We think it is clear that the poor man and the laborer first deserves his pay. The principle that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," is as true literally as it is figuratively. The sons of toil, whose hands are made horny with their rugged struggle for bread, are those upon whom loss falls most severely—involving to them not mere ephemeral position or worldly credit, but food, raiment, even life. The lien of the workingman and the mechanic is, in every State of this Union, esteemed privileged, and a preference of their claims is but a practical conformity to the statute in every court of the land. But the reason of this privilege extends it even further. As the law interferes to protect the laborer, because his condition is one of comparative helplessness and ignorance, so the virtuous debtor ought rightly to hold sacred all debts to the poor, the widow, and the orphan. The same potential considerations apply to them as to the laborer, and no charge of undue preference can ever be adduced against the exhibition of such preference.

These two classes of creditors being satisfied, the insolvent merchant now enters upon the most delicate part of his duty. He finds his obligations now composed of those to fellow-merchants, to endorsers, to depositors, and to fiduciary and honorary trusts. These may not include all that every merchant may owe, but they are sufficient to include all that ordinarily arise in the course of business. To lay down any general principle for guidance in practical life is easy enough, but to apply each without turn or variance to every action, would be fraught with difficulty and wrong, even were it possible. But the most difficult of all applications of the principle of justice to all men, is that

of the settlement of an insolvent estate. Trust funds and obligations to sureties and endorsers have, by common consent, and many of our legislatures, been elevated to privileged debts. Under the head of trust funds, we class all deposits of money for safe keeping and not bearing interest, all funds directed to be applied to specific purposes, and all balances occurring from the sales of produce which have been sold by the insolvent for a commission. We have purposely limited the kind of deposits under this head to those not chargeable with interest. Whenever compensation is given for deposits, no matter how small, then the obligation ceases to be different from an ordinary loan. Its being subject to call, does not make it any more sacred than a loan payable on some specific day. Nay, the very indefiniteness of the day of payment would seem, in some sense, to palliate a failure to meet it, at a sudden and unexpected moment. But of these varieties of sacred obligations, there are many which have even a stronger obligation than others of the same class. Money loaned from courtesy and friendship, to be returned in a few days, would seem eminently privileged, and is so held amongst merchants. For the plea upon which such loans are obtained is eminently one which removes it out of the pale of ordinary obligations, and makes it really a debt of honor, which an honest man would sell the very coat from his back to pay.

In regard to security debts, we think many are esteemed as sacred which are not rightly so. If, for instance, two merchants are mutual endorsers, each for his own profit using the name of the other, we cannot esteem the failure of one as creating any other than an ordinary business debt. The reason is obvious. The relation was created for mutual advantage. As such it was created by the solvent trader for his own benefit, enabling him to buy goods, or obtain money, on profitable terms. We can, therefore, see in this case no real difference between an exchange in notes, or endorsements, and a trade for goods. The frauds and dangers connected with the general system of endorsements amongst merchants sometimes appear so great, that we think legislation ought rather to curb than encourage the relation. We therefore think the statute of Louisiana most judicious, in withholding from such claims any peculiar preference. It may often bear hard upon individual cases, but if it tend to prevent one of the most dangerous practices amongst merchants, pregnant with more disaster and ruin than all other commercial causes combined, then, in the main, it is well that the legal equality is created. When merchants know that being a security bestows no privilege, they will be wary how they endorse, and have a good ground for absolutely refusing to do so. We have our doubts, therefore, without extraordinary

circumstances of hardship attend such obligations, whether the right-minded merchant in Louisiana should hold such claims as sacred. The statute certainly forbids such a view, and the honorable man is always an abider of law. The next class of obligations to which we would refer are those for deposits, and money held in trust, and for balances arising from sales of produce. Upon the sanctity of these claims we think too much cannot be said. They are to our mind eminently privileged; and every exertion should be made, every nerve should be strained, before disregarding their sacredness. How much callousness has, in this day, come to be felt about these debts, is most lamentable. Every merchant ought to feel that an invasion of these claims is a stab at his own reputation, a blow to that character on which high commercial prosperity and wealth alone can be built. The prevalence of bad principles upon this subject in a community is of most serious detriment to its welfare. If the planter cannot feel assured that his produce will be honestly dealt by, and the proceeds faithfully kept for him, he will feel little disposition to consign his property to such a community. He ships his corn, cotton, tobacco, or sugar, to his merchant, as his agent, and reposes in him the most solemn confidence. He is to stand in the place of the owner, and to do by it as if it were his own. For all this, his commissions are paid out of the very property itself, and the proceeds held subject to the owner's order. Our law-books and judicial decisions are filled with comments upon the gravity of the trust thus confided to the commission agent or merchant. His position is one as responsible as it is high. The duties he incurs are not less solemn because they are minute, and of hourly occurrence. For that reason, they are to be performed with a keener perception of their obligation constantly spurring us up to a remembrance of the high trust which has been conferred. The multiplicity of details is apt to blind us to a sense of the attitude in which we stand, and it is only by such general and elevated views to guide us, that we can "take heed lest we fall." The relation being so sacred, then, between the commission merchant and planter, or shipper, we need not demonstrate further the sacredness of balances held by the former for the latter. Indeed, it has often been thought that all such funds held in trust for others, ought to be kept as a special deposit for account of those to whom they respectively belong. Certainly, if such a course were practical, and generally pursued, we would have fewer shameful bankruptcies, and more staunch merchants amongst us. It is by the bolstering aid of such funds that the reckless merchant is encouraged and sustained in his gambling speculations, which are only exposed when the trust is violated and the balances squandered. If such funds are so often the



temptation to extravagance and overtrading, it would be far better that they should be required to be set apart in bank for the use of the owners.

The nature of money-deposits in the hands of agents, merchants, and banks, is so precisely similar to the trusts we have just treated of, that we need only repeat what we have said of them.

The next relation of the insolvent which commands our notice, is that to his family. The rights and claims of the wife and children have received a large share of attention in the code of Louisiana. The legal provisions upon this subject it is not within the scope of our article to discuss, even were we competent to the task. But we may be permitted, first, to state briefly what they are, and second, to remark what is their practical effect upon the *moral relations* we are treating.

In Louisiana, when a man marries a woman who is possessed of estate, either real or personal, their joint funds form a capital, upon which the husband can bargain and trade. The possession and administration of this paraphernal property give him credit and standing, and, in the hurry and bustle of commerce, few men stop to ask if their neighbor is trading on his own or borrowed capital. The handling and possession of much property or money always give an idea of wealth, and inspire credit. And yet, in the marital state, nothing may be more fallacious. The husband may, indeed, appear to be the owner of the ample dowry of his wife, as he has its usufruct, and enjoys its administration; but if he fails, his wife is not only his creditor, but even his preferred creditor, with a tacit mortgage on all his estate, securing to her the dower she brought him. This "tacit lien" is, in like manner, inherited by her children; and, in all the transactions of the husband, this secret claim slumbers, in quiet but potent strength, over all his estate.

This is not the place to discuss the policy of the law, but its *morale* is sadly evinced by the records of every court of our State. We say nothing now of the evils of setting up a distinct interest for the wife and children from the husband,—the most fruitful source of domestic discord ever invented by the wit of law-makers. We say nothing now of the door thrown open to nefarious frauds by such provisions. These are points which we have not time or space to discuss. It was upon this very subject that Charles O'Connor, then a member of the New-York Constitutional Convention, said—

"The finer union of interests in married life, as established by the common law, occasionally, in special cases, produced deplorable evils, but its general influence upon the manners of society was most benign. But change this, and convert man and wife into mere partners, and a most serious injury would result to the endearing relations of married life. The nations of Con-

tinental Europe, governed by the civil law, formed in this respect a striking contrast to England, where the Divine simplicity and unity of this relation, under the common law, prevailed. All such systems, of separate interest in marriage, tend to sever the bonds of union, and create jealousies, and heart-burnings, and infidelities between husband and wife."

But, there are duties to one's family, which are paramount to all other obligations. It is clearly the right of the insolvent to shield his wife from degrading poverty, and his children from the biting pangs of hunger. The man is worse than an infidel, who cares not first for his own household. No creditor can rightfully demand of his unfortunate debtor the sacrifice of the comforts of life. Education and sustenance are the higher law claims on the means of the father and husband. So far as an insolvent's means are necessary to these, they are privileged to his family. But the necessity must be no indefinite or vague one, permitting the use of those luxuries and elegances of life, in which the injured creditor can himself hardly indulge. Whilst his creditors suffer and are pinched by want, it ill becomes the family of the insolvent to roll in the lap of wealth, and enjoy the appliances offered by ill-gotten means. How far this rule should extend, every man's conscience must determine. But this is certain, that, in these latter days, too much laxity prevails upon this subject. The insolvent seems to think his measure of duty is accomplished when he surrenders all his present means to his creditors. Not so. If he is young and healthy, and good fortune afterwards awaits him, he is bound, by every principle of justice, if not of law, to go forward to his creditors and pay on, as long as his duty to his family will permit. It may be true that the creditors have given him a final discharge, and that they no longer expect anything from his exertions. It matters not how slender may be their hopes, or how feeble may be their legal claims, his path of duty is as clear as noon-day, and no right-thinking mind will attempt to evade the solemnity of the moral obligation. And how much, how infinitely richer will his children be, when, in after days, they think of the fidelity of their father, than if they are constantly reminded that the wealth they now enjoy is built upon the wreck of their parent's promises! The heritage of a good name and high character is better to a merchant just launching into life, than letters of credit or reputation of wealth. That heritage is at once an earnest of his training to others, and a *stimulus* of example for himself. For a while, the busy world may seem to forget these things, and prosperity appear only to wait upon the unscrupulous; but when the true, faithful, honest merchant falls in our midst, and is carried to his fathers, leaving behind him a memory redolent of good deeds and lofty integrity, then all unite to praise him, and the true men he leaves behind are con-

tent to say, "May this, too, be our reward," and "may our end be like his."

We come now, finally, to that of the duties of the creditor to his insolvent debtor. The relation demands but a few thoughts, but it is not the less important. If we have presented a high rule for the guidance of the insolvent, we have one quite as high to lay down to the creditor.

Insolvency may imply indiscretion and imprudence in the management of business, but does not necessarily indicate want of principle or honesty. The failure of a merchant ought not to subject him to sweeping terms of reproach. Yet how often do we hear the creditor charge the unfortunate insolvent, with whom but a short while since he was on the best of terms, with the violation of every law of God and man! How often do we see the pure and upright gentleman bitterly reviled, in the hour of his misfortune, by those who were proud to serve his beck and do his bidding in the day of prosperity! This should not be. And merchants, beyond all others, should be wary how they deal harshly by their delinquent debtors. They should ever be guarded against laying heavy charges at the doors of their bankrupt friends. Much censure, and grave censure, naturally arise at such times,—perhaps much censure and grave censure are justly deserved. But, "*In omnibus Charitas*" was the kindly motto of old St. Augustine, and no man should remember it more than the merchant creditor; for he knows not what day he may himself be arraigned for the same short-comings, and the "poisoned chalice" of his own reproaches be commended to his own lips by an even-handed justice. The chances of commerce are open to all. The prudent and imprudent may sometimes be borne down by the same crashes of the monetary world. Do what he will, the most rapacious and prudent may be overtaken by insolvency, and if he has dealt hardly by *his* debtors, he will then feel how unmerited and unjust was his course.

In settlement with an honest debtor, it is the duty of the creditor, as it is his privilege, to cheer rather than to crush his unfortunate fellow-citizen. And if he does this, he is far more apt to be rewarded by the renewed exertions of the debtor. How it can be done need hardly be told. There are innumerable modes, involving little pecuniary sacrifice, and requiring but a cheering word and a hearty God-speed, which may prove the redemption of a worthy man from ruin and despair. But these are considerations so obvious, that we need delay no longer in bringing this article to a close.

# STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.

## Art. VIII.—STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN addition to the statistics of the United States founded upon the Census of 1850, which were published in the January number of the REVIEW, we add a few others which will be found of general interest. Some typographical errors occurred in one of the tables in the January number, viz., the tables of ratios of increase of the States since 1790, and we therefore republish them correct, and in full, instead of in the condensed shape in which they then appeared.

### COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1840 AND 1850.

	1850.					
	Number of Publications.	Number of copies circulated Annually.	Total White and Free Colored Population.	Number of Inhabitants to each Publication.	Number of Political Publications.	Number of Inhabitants to each Political Publication.
Maine, N. Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut,	396....	81,683,724....	2,728,116....	6,889....	200....	13,640
New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia,	885....	235,543,963....	6,528,407....	7,376....	567....	11,513
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida,	245....	22,780,228....	2,385,785....	9,738....	148....	16,120
Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee,	259....	25,446,143....	2,078,866....	8,057....	175....	11,879
Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa,	731....	60,096,932....	6,081,520....	8,319....	539....	11,282
California, Minnesota, New-Mexico, Oregon, Utah,	11....	858,908....	184,895....	16,808....	1....	184,805
1840.						
Maine, N. Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut,	274....	Not specified	2,234,799....	8,156....	Not specified	Not specified
New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia,	605....	Not specified	5,019,764....	8,297....	Not specified	Not specified
Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida,	136....	Not specified	2,004,880....	12,851....	Not specified	Not specified
Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee,	171....	Not specified	1,425,413....	8,233....	Not specified	Not specified
Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa,	395....	Not specified	3,800,607....	9,849....	Not specified	Not specified

### PROPORTION OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN BORN POPULATION IN THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE UNION.

NAME OF STATES.	Total Free Population. Native.	Total Foreign Population.	Proportion of Foreign to Native, per cent.
New-England.....	3,421,867.....	306,249.....	12.65
Middle.....	5,447,733.....	1,060,674.....	19.64
Southern.....	2,342,255.....	43,530.....	1.86
Southwestern.....	1,973,531.....	105,335.....	5.34
Northern.....	5,401,762.....	679,818.....	12.59
Northwestern.....	155,673.....	28,996.....	18.60
Total.....	17,742,961.....	2,244,662.....	12.65



## AGRICULTURAL RATIO TABLES OF THE STATES.

SECTIONS.	Area in Acres.	Land in use.		Proportion of Land in use to area.	
		Imp'd.	Unimp'd.	Imp'd.	Unimp'd.
New-England States.....	41,107,200.....	11,150,594.....	7,216,864.....	27.13.....	17.56.....
Middle ".....	72,333,440.....	20,200,608.....	16,212,717.....	26.22.....	22.41.....
Southern ".....	161,356,800.....	26,614,289.....	61,169,373.....	16.49.....	37.91.....
Southwestern ".....	358,999,680.....	16,070,676.....	44,625,042.....	4.48.....	12.43.....
Northern ".....	251,507,200.....	32,643,567.....	46,963,790.....	12.98.....	18.67.....
Northwestern ".....	685,427,840.....	352,680.....	4,340,214.....	.05.....	.63.....
Total.....	1,570,732,160.....	113,032,614.....	180,528,000.....	7.20.....	11.49.....

SECTIONS.	Number of Farms.	Average value of Agricultural Implements.	Average No. of acres to each Farm.	Average value per acre.
New-England States.....	167,575.....	\$77 20.....	109.....	\$20 27.....
Middle ".....	350,290.....	126 31.....	121.....	28 06.....
Southern ".....	220,008.....	98 37.....	399.....	5 32.....
Southwestern ".....	192,037.....	164 44.....	316.....	5 34.....
Northern ".....	512,297.....	79 47.....	153.....	11 38.....
Northwestern ".....	6,190.....	75 14.....	758.....	1 88.....
Total.....	1,448,397.....	\$104 63.....	202.....	\$11 14.....

## STATISTICS OF EDUCATION—NATIVE AND FOREIGN POPULATION OF U. S.

	Native Born.			Foreign Born.		
	White Population.	Number who cannot read and write.	Proportion who cannot read and write to Native white Population.	Total Foreign Population.	Number who cannot read and write.	Proportion who cannot read and write to total Foreign Population.
New-England States.....	2,309,651.....	6,219.....	.26.....	305,444.....	44,692.....	14.63.....
Middle ".....	5,219,747.....	96,181.....	1.84.....	1,079,300.....	103,096.....	9.55.....
Southern ".....	2,247,948.....	200,032.....	9.30.....	43,218.....	2,282.....	5.28.....
Southwestern ".....	1,946,408.....	163,738.....	8.41.....	104,314.....	9,511.....	9.12.....
Northern ".....	5,343,864.....	265,515.....	4.97.....	679,499.....	31,470.....	4.63.....
Northwestern ".....	154,855.....	27,099.....	17.50.....	28,760.....	4,663.....	16.13.....
Total.....	17,312,333.....	767,784.....	4.43.....	2,240,535.....	195,114.....	8.71.....

	Native.		Free Colored.		Foreign.	
New-England States.....	22,216.....	1,878.....	8.45.....	805.....		
Middle ".....	227,986.....	51,111.....	22.42.....	1,374.....		
Southern ".....	94,307.....	19,989.....	21.20.....	312.....		
Southwestern ".....	27,063.....	5,018.....	18.54.....	1,021.....		
Northern ".....	57,838.....	12,399.....	21.44.....	219.....		
Northwestern ".....	1,018.....	127.....	12.47.....	236.....		
Total.....	430,428.....	90,522.....	21.03.....	4,067.....		

## FUTURE PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

YEARS.	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	No. 6.
	On the basis of Average increase of population from 1790 to 1850.	On the basis of increase from 1840 to 1850.	On the basis of increase from 1840 to 1850, after deducting State of Delaware from the number of foreigners who arrived in that time.	On the basis of increase from 1840 to 1850, in the State of Delaware.	On the basis of the three of the ratios in columns 2, 3, and 4.	On the basis of the two of the ratios in columns 3 & 4.
	Ratio, 35.67.	Ratio, 34.45.	Ratio, 26.95.	Ratio, 7.68.	Ratio, 23.02.	Ratio 17.32.
1860.....	31,510,802.....	31,178,938.....	29,442,080.....	24,973,012.....	28,530,645.....	27,208,709.....
1870.....	42,813,729.....	41,915,489.....	37,376,728.....	26,890,939.....	35,098,400.....	31,921,237.....
1880.....	58,171,009.....	56,349,083.....	47,449,756.....	28,956,103.....	43,178,052.....	37,450,019.....
1890.....	79,036,959.....	75,752,890.....	60,237,465.....	31,279,906.....	53,117,640.....	43,936,392.....
1900.....	107,387,504.....	101,838,397.....	76,471,462.....	33,681,300.....	65,345,320.....	51,546,140.....
1910.....	145,907,400.....	136,906,449.....	97,089,521.....	36,268,024.....	80,387,813.....	60,473,931.....
1920.....	198,244,384.....	184,050,184.....	123,243,721.....	39,053,408.....	98,893,068.....	70,945,016.....
1930.....	269,354,644.....	247,427,835.....	156,457,904.....	42,052,710.....	131,658,277.....	93,336,219.....
1940.....	365,972,154.....	332,629,650.....	198,623,309.....	45,282,358.....	149,664,012.....	97,652,724.....
1950.....	497,246,365.....	447,159,670.....	232,152,290.....	48,760,643.....	184,116,607.....	114,566,176.....

RATIO OF THE INCREASE OF POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES IN SIXTY  
YEARS.

States and Territories.	1790.	1800.	1810.	Population.				1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Maine.....	96,540..	151,719..	228,705..	296,335...	399,455....	501,793..	583,169				
New-Hampshire..	141,899..	183,762..	214,360..	244,161....	269,328....	284,574..	317,976				
Vermont.....	85,416..	154,465..	217,713..	235,764....	280,652....	291,948..	314,130				
Massachusetts...	378,717..	423,245..	472,040..	523,287....	610,408....	737,699..	994,514				
Rhode Island....	69,110..	69,122..	77,031..	83,059....	97,199....	108,830..	147,545				
Connecticut.....	238,141..	251,002..	262,042..	275,202....	297,675....	309,978..	370,793				
	1,009,823..	1,233,315..	1,471,891..	1,659,808....	1,954,717....	2,234,822..	2,728,116				
New-York.....	340,120..	586,736..	959,049..	1,372,812....	1,918,608....	2,428,921..	3,007,394				
New-Jersey.....	164,139..	211,949..	245,555..	277,573....	320,823....	373,306..	489,555				
Pennsylvania....	434,373..	602,365..	810,091..	1,049,458....	1,348,233....	1,724,033..	2,311,786				
Delaware.....	59,096..	64,273..	72,674..	72,749....	76,748....	78,085..	91,534				
Maryland.....	319,728..	341,548..	380,546..	407,350....	447,040....	470,019..	563,034				
Dis. of Columbia	—	14,093..	24,023..	33,030....	39,834....	43,712..	51,687				
	1,337,456..	1,820,984..	2,491,938..	3,212,983....	4,151,286....	5,118,076..	6,624,988				
Virginia.....	748,308..	880,200..	974,622..	1,065,379....	1,211,405....	1,239,797..	1,421,661				
North Carolina...	393,751..	478,103..	555,500..	638,829....	737,987....	753,419..	869,039				
South Carolina...	249,073..	345,591..	415,115..	502,741....	581,185....	594,398..	668,507				
Georgia.....	82,548..	162,101..	232,433..	340,967....	516,823....	691,393..	906,185				
Florida.....	—	—	—	—	34,730....	54,477..	87,445				
	1,473,680..	1,865,995..	2,197,670..	2,547,936....	3,082,130....	3,333,493..	3,952,837				
Alabama.....	—	—	—	127,901....	309,527....	590,756..	771,693				
Mississippi.....	—	8,850..	40,352..	75,445....	136,021....	375,651..	666,526				
Louisiana.....	—	—	76,556..	153,407....	215,739....	352,411..	517,763				
Texas.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	212,592				
Arkansas.....	—	—	—	14,273....	30,388....	9,574..	209,897				
Tennessee.....	35,791..	105,602..	261,727..	422,813....	681,904....	889,210..	1,062,717				
	35,791..	114,452..	378,635..	810,238....	1,374,179....	2,245,602..	3,321,117				
Missouri.....	—	—	20,845..	60,586....	140,455....	283,702..	662,044				
Kentucky.....	73,077..	220,955..	406,511..	564,317....	687,917....	779,828..	982,405				
Ohio.....	—	45,365..	220,760..	581,434....	937,903....	1,519,467..	1,980,329				
Indiana.....	—	4,875..	24,320..	147,178....	343,031....	685,866..	988,416				
Illinois.....	—	—	12,282..	55,211....	157,445....	476,183..	851,470				
Michigan.....	—	—	4,762..	8,896....	31,639....	212,267..	397,654				
Wisconsin.....	—	—	—	—	—	20,945..	305,391				
Iowa.....	—	—	—	—	—	43,112..	192,214				
	73,077..	271,195..	699,680..	1,423,622....	2,298,390....	4,131,370..	6,379,923				
California.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	92,597				
Minnesota.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,077				
New-Mexico.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	61,547				
Oregon.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	13,294				
Utah.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,380				
	—	—	—	—	—	—	154,895				
Aggregate.....	3,929,827..	5,305,925..	7,239,814..	9,638,131..	12,866,020..	17,069,453..	23,101,876				
States and Territories.	1800.	1810.	Decennial increase.				1840.	1850.			
Maine.....	57.16.....	50.74.....	30.45.....	33.69.....	35.62.....	16.22.....					
New-Hampshire..	29.50.....	16.65.....	13.90.....	10.31.....	5.66.....	11.73.....					
Vermont.....	80.84.....	40.92.....	8.29.....	19.04.....	4.02.....	7.59.....					
Massachusetts...	11.76.....	11.53.....	10.88.....	16.65.....	20.83.....	34.81.....					
Rhode Island....	.01.....	11.44.....	7.83.....	17.02.....	11.97.....	35.57.....					
Connecticut.....	5.40.....	4.40.....	5.02.....	8.17.....	4.13.....	19.62.....					
	22.13.....	19.34.....	12.77.....	17.77.....	14.33.....	22.07.....					
New-York.....	72.51.....	63.45.....	43.14.....	39.76.....	26.60.....	27.52.....					
New-Jersey.....	15.10.....	15.86.....	13.04.....	15.58.....	16.36.....	31.14.....					
Pennsylvania....	38.67.....	34.49.....	29.55.....	28.47.....	27.87.....	34.09.....					
Delaware.....	8.76.....	13.07.....	.10.....	5.5.....	1.74.....	17.22.....					
Maryland.....	6.82.....	11.42.....	7.64.....	9.74.....	5.14.....	24.04.....					
Dis. of Columbia.	—	70.45.....	37.53.....	20.57.....	9.74.....	18.24.....					
	26.15.....	36.85.....	28.94.....	29.2.....	23.29.....	29.44.....					

# RATIO OF INCREASE OF WHITES, ETC.

323

States and Territories.	Decennial increase, (continued.)					
	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Virginia.....	17.63	10.73	9.31	13.7	2.34	14.67
North Carolina.....	21.42	16.19	15.	15.62	2.09	15.35
South Carolina.....	38.75	20.12	21.11	15.6	2.28	12.47
Georgia.....	96.37	55.73	35.08	51.57	33.78	31.07
Florida.....	—	—	—	—	56.86	60.52
	26.62	17.77	15.94	20.96	8.16	18.58
Alabama.....	—	—	—	142.	90.85	2069
Mississippi.....	—	355.95	60.97	81.08	174.06	61.46
Louisiana.....	—	—	100.39	40.63	63.35	46.9
Texas.....	—	—	—	—	—	2
Arkansas.....	—	—	—	112.91	221.09	115.1
Tennessee.....	195.05	147.84	61.55	61.28	21.6	20.92
	219.78	230.89	109.66	73.10	63.41	47.89
Missouri.....	—	—	219.43	110.94	173.18	77.7
Kentucky.....	202.36	83.98	38.82	21.9	13.36	2592
Ohio.....	—	408.67	151.96	61.3	62.	30.22
Indiana.....	—	402.97	509.24	133.07	99.94	44.11
Illinois.....	—	—	349.53	185.17	202.44	78.61
Michigan.....	—	—	60.80	235.63	570.9	67.34
Wisconsin.....	—	—	—	—	—	886.88
Iowa.....	—	—	—	—	—	345.85
	271.11	158.	103.47	61.45	79.35	54.43
California.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minnesota.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Mexico.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Utah.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Aggregate.....	35.01	36.45	33.13	33.49	32.67	35.87

## RATIO OF INCREASE IN THE UNITED STATES OF WHITE, FREE COLORED, SLAVES, AND TOTAL POPULATION, SINCE 1790.\*

CLASSES.	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Whites.....	3,172,464..	4,304,489..	5,862,004..	7,861,937..	10,537,378..	14,195,695..	19,553,068
Free Colored.....	59,466..	108,395..	186,446..	238,156..	319,599..	386,303..	434,495
Slaves.....	697,897..	893,041..	1,191,364..	1,538,038..	2,009,043..	2,467,455..	3,204,313
Total Free.....	3,231,930..	4,412,884..	6,048,450..	8,100,093..	10,856,977..	14,581,998..	19,967,563
Total Colored.....	757,363..	1,001,436..	1,377,810..	1,776,194..	2,328,649..	2,873,758..	3,638,808
Decennial increase per cent. in							
	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	
Whites.....	35.66	36.18	34.12	34.03	34.72	37.74	
Free Colored.....	82.28	72.00	27.33	34.2	20.87	12.47	
Slaves.....	27.96	33.4	29.10	30.62	23.81	28.82	
Total Free.....	36.54	37.06	33.92	34.03	34.31	37.67	
Total Colored.....	32.23	37.53	28.92	31.10	23.41	28.62	

\* In all of the ratio tables that have been framed in the office, no attention has been paid to the fact that between 1820 and 1830 only nine years and ten months elapsed, nor have the accretions of population, from annexations of new territory, &c., been taken into consideration. These matters are worthy of separate and special attention, for which time does not now admit.

## Art. IX.—NEWSPAPERS AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

IN connection with the statistics of newspapers given in our number for January, we insert the following from *Livingston's Law Reporter* :—

"The origin of newspapers, like that of many institutions important to modern civilization, is to be referred to Italy. The war which the Republic of Venice waged against Solymán II., in Dalmatia, gave rise, in 1563, to the custom in Venice of communicating the military and commercial information received, by written sheets (*notizie scritte*) to be read at a particular place by those desirous to learn the news, who paid for this privilege in a coin, not any longer in use, called *gazetta*—a name which, by degrees, was transferred to the newspaper itself in Italy and France, and passed over into England.\* A file of these Venetian papers, for sixty years, is still preserved in the Magliabecchi Library at Florence. The first regular paper was a monthly, written, government paper at Venice; and Chalmers, in his life of Ruddiman, informs us that 'a jealous government did not allow a *printed* newspaper; and the Venetian *Gazetta* continued long after the invention of printing, to the close of the sixteenth century, and even to our own days, to be distributed in *manuscript*.' Those who first wrote newspapers were called, by the Italians, *menanti*, because, says Vossius, they intended commonly, by these loose papers, to spread about defamatory reflections, and were therefore prohibited in Italy, by Gregory XIII., in a particular bull, under the name of *Menantes* (from the Latin *minantes*, threatening). Menage derives the name, with more probability, from the Italian *menare*, which signifies 'to lead at large,' or, 'spread afar.' Perhaps it will not be irrelevant, however, for the writer to remark, that it is common for the Mecklenburg peasantry, as he knows from experience, to call the newspaper *de Logenblad* (the lying paper); and the German proverb in use to this day, 'He lies like print,' ('*er lügt wie gedruckt*'), is probably connected with this view of early newspapers.

"The first English genuine newspaper appeared under Elizabeth, in the epoch of the Spanish Armada, of which several, printed when the Spanish fleet was in the English Channel,

\* Some etymologists have thought the name *gazetta* is to be derived from *gazzerà*, a magpie, or, in this case, a chatterer; others from the Latin *gaza*, which, being colloquially lengthened into *gazetta*, would signify a little treasury of news. The Spanish derive it, indeed, from the Latin *gaza* (Greek, *γᾱζα*), though their newspapers, least of all, deserve the name of treasure. They have a peculiar word, wanting in our idiom, *gazetista*, a lover of the gazette. The German *zeitung* is from the ancient *theidinge* or *theidung* (the English, *tiding*, the Swedish, *tidingar*.)



during the year 1588, are preserved in the British Museum; and it is very curious how much the mode of communicating certain kinds of intelligence in these early papers resemble the forms in use at present. The earliest newspaper is entitled 'The English Mercurie,' which, by *authority*, 'was imprinted at London, by her highness's printer, 1588.' These were, however, but extraordinary gazettes, not regularly published. Periodical papers seem first to have been more generally used by the English during the civil wars of the time of the Commonwealth, to disseminate sentiments of loyalty or resistance. They were called *weekly news-books*. Though *Mercury* was the prevailing title of most, the quaintness which marks the titles of books in that age, is found also in the names of the 'news-books;' for instance, the *Secret Owl*, *Heracitus Ridens*, the *Weekly Discoverer*, and the *Discoverer Stript Naked*, &c. A catalogue of the Mercuries would exhibit a curious picture of those singular times.

"We learn from Buckingham's specimens of newspaper literature, that the earliest newspaper established in North America was the *Boston News-Letter*, the first number of which was issued April 24, 1704.

"A comparison of the number of periodicals and inhabitants of different countries, gives the following results:—

"In 1827, there appeared in Great Britain, 483 different newspapers and other periodicals to 23,400,000 inhabitants; in Sweden and Norway, 82 journals to 3,866,000 inhabitants; in the States of the Church, 6 newspapers to 2,598,000 inhabitants, (Stockholm, with 78,000 inhabitants, has 30 journals; Rome, with 154,000, only 3); Denmark, to 1,950,000 inhabitants, has 80 journals, of which 71 are in the Danish language; 23 are devoted to politics; 25 to the sciences. Prussia has 12,416,000 inhabitants, and 288 journals and periodicals. (Berlin has 221,000 inhabitants, and 53 periodical works; Copenhagen has 109,000 inhabitants, and 57 journals.) The Netherlands have 6,143,000 inhabitants, and 150 journals. In the German Confederation, (excluding Austria and Prussia,) there are 13,300,000 inhabitants, and 305 journals; in Saxony, to 1,400,000 inhabitants, 54 newspapers; in Hanover, to 1,550,000 inhabitants, 16 newspapers; in Bavaria, to 3,960,000 inhabitants, 48 newspapers. France, with a population of 32,060,000, has 490 periodical works, (660 printing establishments, 1,500 presses); in Paris, 81 printing establishments, or 850 presses. In Paris alone, containing 890,000 inhabitants, there are 176 periodical works.

"The following table, arranged for the American Almanac of 1830, is corrected from the *Traveller*, and contains a statement of the number of newspapers published in the colonies at the commencement of the Revolution, and also the number of

newspapers and other periodical works in the United States in 1810 and 1828:—

STATES.	1775.	1810.	1828.	STATES.	1775.	1810.	1828.
Maine.....	—	—	29	Georgia.....	1.....	13.....	19
Massachusetts.....	7.....	32.....	78	Florida.....	—	1.....	2
New-Hampshire.....	1.....	12.....	17	Alabama.....	—	—	10
Vermont.....	—	14.....	21	Mississippi.....	—	4.....	6
Rhode Island.....	2.....	7.....	14	Louisiana.....	—	10.....	9
Connecticut.....	4.....	11.....	33	Tennessee.....	—	6.....	8
New-York.....	4.....	66.....	161	Kentucky.....	—	17.....	23
New-Jersey.....	—	8.....	22	Ohio.....	—	14.....	66
Pennsylvania.....	9.....	71.....	185	Indiana.....	—	—	17
Delaware.....	—	2.....	4	Michigan.....	—	—	2
Maryland.....	3.....	21.....	37	Illinois.....	—	—	4
District of Columbia.....	—	6.....	9	Missouri.....	—	—	5
Virginia.....	2.....	23.....	34	Arkansas.....	—	—	1
North Carolina.....	2.....	10.....	20	Cherokee Nation.....	—	—	1
South Carolina.....	3.....	10.....	16				
	—	—	—	Total.....	37.....	358.....	802

"The following is the state of the newspaper press in the United States in 1810, as extracted from a number of the *National Intelligencer*: New-Hampshire, 12 papers, 624,000 circulation; Massachusetts, 32 papers, 2,873,000 circulation; Rhode Island, 7 papers, 332,800 circulation; Connecticut, 11 papers, 657,800 circulation; Vermont, 14 papers, 682,400 circulation; New-York, 66 papers, 4,139,200 circulation; New-Jersey, 8 papers, 332,800 circulation; Pennsylvania, 71 papers, 4,542,200 circulation; Delaware, 2 papers, 166,400 circulation; Maryland, 21 papers, 1,903,200 circulation; District of Columbia, 6 papers, 686,400 circulation; Virginia, 23 papers, 1,289,600 circulation; North Carolina, 10 papers, 416,000 circulation; South Carolina, 10 papers, 842,400 circulation; Georgia, 13 papers, 707,200 circulation; Kentucky, 17 papers, 618,800 circulation; Tennessee, 6 papers, 171,600 circulation; Ohio, 14 papers, 473,200 circulation; Indiana Territory, 1 paper, 15,600 circulation; Mississippi Territory, 4 papers, 83,200 circulation; Orleans Territory, 10 papers, 748,800 circulation; Louisiana Territory, 1 paper, 15,100 circulation. Total for the United States, 559 papers; circulation, 22,222,200.

"The North American colonies, in the year 1720, had only seven newspapers; in 1810, the United States had 359; in 1826, they had 640; in 1830, 1,000, with a population of 13,000,000."

**ART. X.—THE COMMERCE OF THE OHIO, AND ITS OBSTRUCTIONS.**

[The following paper was prepared by N. W. Thomas, Esq., President of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. We append to it the statistics from Colonel Abert's Report, showing the amount expended by the Federal Government for Internal Improvements from 1806 to 1847.]

IN answer to the interrogatory requiring the number of vessels which pass annually through the Louisville Canal, I can only give you the average number from the last year's report. The number for this year cannot be ascertained until the company make their yearly statement of their business. A fair estimate of the average number of steamboats passing the Canal, annually, may be put down at 1,450, with a tonnage, Custom-House measurement, of 460,000 tons, and a capacity to carry 100,000 tons additional. The number of flat-boats may be estimated at 480, with a tonnage of 50,000 tons; making the aggregate tonnage of vessels passing the Canal, annually, about 510,000 tons.

It is impossible to give anything like a definite answer to the question "relative to the injury which the commerce of this city sustains by reason of the obstruction at the Falls of the Ohio." There is no way of ascertaining the amount which would recompense the various branches of trade and commerce, for the losses, delays, and injuries which they constantly sustain at this point. In addition to a fixed amount of toll, the commerce of the river suffers from delays, low water, portage around the Falls, change of vessels, and many other losses, which in the aggregate would be estimated variously by different persons. A low estimate, however, may be put down at 150,000 dollars as an annual loss to the trade of Cincinnati.

In a report made to Congress, in 1846, the estimated loss to the commerce of the Ohio River, by the obstructions at the Falls, was estimated at the enormous sum, annually, of \$803,643.

An estimate made now, on the same basis of calculation, would give a much larger sum.

To estimate the injury to the commerce of the country, by the obstruction at the Falls, and the inefficiency of the present Canal, we should take into view the prospective advantages and increase of trade which would be gained by an enlarged canal, and an uninterrupted navigation for all classes of boats.

The impetus thus given to the commerce of the Upper Ohio would, in a few years, double the present estimate of exports and imports of this city, and in the same ratio, increase the

commerce of all parts of the Mississippi Valley, connected with the trade of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

Nature has intended these great natural channels for the conveyance of the commerce of the Great West. They are the avenues to which all plains incline, and where, by the aid of steam applied to vessels, a large portion of the trade and movement of the country must always be found. All other channels of communication must contribute and constantly increase the commerce on these great natural thoroughfares.

I inclose you a statement, in pamphlet form, of the Trade and Commerce of Cincinnati, published by the Chamber of Commerce, for the year ending 31st August, 1853.

By reference to this, you will see that the imports of the city for the last year are put down in the aggregate at \$51,230,644, and the exports at \$36,266,108.

The number of steamboat arrivals at the port of Cincinnati during the year, 3,630. Departures, 4,113. The number of flat-boats arrived, 5,880.

Twenty-five new steamboats were built with a tonnage, Custom-House measurement, of 10,252 tons. The actual capacity being 33 per cent. additional. Many other important details of the commerce of the city will be found in this statement, which cannot be given in this communication.

The following Report was prepared by the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati, and embraces much valuable material upon the commerce of the Ohio, etc. We give it entire:—

#### FALLS OF THE OHIO.

The importance of a Canal around the Falls of the Ohio was early appreciated by the citizens of the West; and long before steamboats were in use, it was obvious that this noble river was to become the great arterial circulation for the commerce of the Mississippi Valley. In tracing the Ohio to its source, regarding the Alleghany River as its proper continuation, we find that a boat, at certain times, may start with sufficient water from a point within seven miles of Lake Erie, and perform a voyage of 2,400 miles, to the Gulf of Mexico, meeting with few natural obstructions in the whole distance, excepting the Rapids, or Falls, at Louisville. Here is the first great impediment to the navigation of the Ohio, and in low water an insurmountable barrier is presented by the exposure of a ledge of limestone rock, entirely across the river, extending about one mile, over which the river is increased in velocity, and causes rapids with a fall of twenty-five feet within that distance. The attention of Congress was called to this obstruction as early as the year 1805, when Mr. Dayton, of New-Jersey, in a report, recommended an appropriation for a Canal around the Falls of the Ohio.

In 1806, another report recommended the appropriation, and advocated "the immense utility of the proposed Canal, which no one could doubt who reflects for a moment upon the vast extent of fertile country which is watered by the Ohio and its tributary streams, and upon the incalculable amount of produce which must, of course, necessarily find its way to mar-



ket by descending that river, and encountering the danger and difficulty of passing its Rapids."

In 1807, Henry Clay, then a Senator from Kentucky, reported "that the work is one of national importance; that the immense country on the Ohio and its waters above the Rapids, in seeking a market for its surplus products, has to encounter the obstructions in the navigation of that stream which they present, and there can be no doubt that both policy and power combine in favor of promoting an undertaking by which the property of the Government is to be incidentally benefited."

In 1808, Albert Gallatin, as Secretary of the Treasury, reported on the importance of a Canal around the Falls of the Ohio, and called the attention of the Legislature of Kentucky, and the inhabitants of the Western country generally, to the opening of a Canal at the Falls.

In 1816, Mr. Morrow, of Ohio, from a select committee of the Senate, reported that "The great works which are calculated for national advantage, either in a military or commercial view, their execution must depend on the General Government. Wherever great obstacles are to be overcome, great powers must be employed. To such works, the means of associated individuals are incompetent, and the particular States may not have an interest in the execution of a work of the most essential advantage to other parts of the community. In other cases, where interest might be sufficiently operative, the means or the power may not be possessed, their territorial jurisdiction being limited short of the whole extent of the work. Among many other objects of improvements in inland navigation, coming within the above description, a Canal around the Falls of the Ohio appears to be recommended by its importance to the attention of Congress."

Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, in 1817, reported the necessity of lockage, or some other improvement, at the Falls of the Ohio.

In 1817, Mr. Lacock, of Pennsylvania, made report in the Senate, upon the subject of improvements of a national character, and "referred to the improvement of the Ohio River, more particularly the Falls at Louisville."

In 1822, Mr. Hemphill, of Pennsylvania, from a select committee of the House of Representatives, stated, "that the national objects which, in the opinion of the committee, claim the first attention of Government, is a Canal to connect the waters of the Ohio above with those below the Falls at Louisville."

In 1824, Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, from a committee of the House of Representatives, reported "That the improvement of the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, which wash the territories of twelve States, cannot be a local, but a national object; one to which the exercise of the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the several States, is invited, by every consideration, whether of a commercial or a military character."

"The nature and magnitude of the obstruction at the Falls of the Ohio are too well and generally known to require of the committee a particular description. A Canal around the Falls, at this place, would be of great utility to all that part of the Union, composed of part of New-York, Western Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. Of the practicability of this improvement, and of its absolute necessity, in justice to an industrious and enterprising population, the committee are satisfied. Its national importance requires that the General Government should aid in its execution."

These authorities have been referred to for the purpose of showing the numerous applications made to the General Government, and the settled opinion in times past regarding the nationality of the work; showing, also, the absence of all useful legislation from that time to this in perfecting those resolves, or affording to the petitioners any redress for the grievances so often presented to their rulers.

It will thus be seen, that it is now nearly fifty years since this Government has been asked to remove the obstructions at the Falls of the Ohio. Memorials, resolutions, and petitions have been presented throughout the greater part of this period for this object. The Legislatures of the different States interested; the navigators of the stream; the consumers of the products transported by its tonnage; and, in short, the citizens of almost every portion of the Union, have been annually supplicating the national councils to afford them relief. The subject has been discussed over and over again; resolutions, reports, and bills have been submitted in favor of the work, yet, nothing has been done, with the exception of the subscription by the Government, to the stock of a private company, to aid in the construction of an inefficient work, unsuited to the commerce of the river, and using that stock under the charter of the State of Kentucky, in imposing an exorbitant tax upon commerce, until, by usurious interest, the amount of the original subscription of 230,000 dollars, has swelled in the hands of the Government to the enormous sum of 1,300,000 dollars, all wrung from the commerce of the river, in passing a natural obstruction, guarded by toll-gates, under the control of a private corporation, and the General Government a willing participator in any rules or regulations which the company have enacted, for the purpose of promoting the private interests of the stockholders.

Since the completion of the Canal in 1832, the people of the West have never ceased to seek relief, by presenting their memorials and petitions to Congress. They have also organized, under State authority, private companies, and made surveys for another Canal; but fearing to interrupt the navigation of a great national highway, and constantly depending on the Government affording relief, these private companies suspended their work, from time to time, as they were met at almost every session of Congress by a resolution for a national survey, or, some bill passed, to the first or second reading, authorizing a national Canal. Thus, anticipating action by the Government, and unwilling to trespass upon the national rights, nothing has been done.

No other interest or locality in this country has been more strenuously presented to the national councils for relief, and no other interest or locality has been treated with such neglect and contempt.

It has been stated that the present canal is inefficient, and unsuited to the commerce of the river. This fact is well known to every one interested in the commerce of the West, and it must be also apparent, that in proportion to the growth and increase of commerce on the Ohio, in that proportion will the disadvantages be magnified, and the injuries increased, until another avenue, suited to the commerce of the country, shall be provided.

The present canal was projected in 1825, when the commerce of the West was in its infancy, and when it was thought that locks of 180 feet in length would be sufficiently large for the passage of boats. It is now ascertained that the enormous increase of the trade of the West requires boats of 300 feet in length, to make the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers profitable to owners of vessels. Therefore, the present canal has become useless for the passage of those vessels which are to be engaged in the trade, to ports below the Falls. The vessels, also, which are intended for the passage through the canal, must conform in size and model to the locks, which compels the navigators of such vessels to labor under many disadvantages, in competing with the larger class of vessels navigating between the Falls and New-Orleans.

When these disadvantages attending the construction of vessels are added to the delays in passing the canal, and the toll of fifty cents per ton for every passage, with other incidental expenses, it is found that a vessel, in the trade between St. Louis and Cincinnati will, in five or six years, pay a sum

equal to the original cost; thus making a contribution of 16 per cent. annually on the capital invested; which is chiefly paid to the Government, as the principal stockholder, in exorbitant charges, for passing a natural obstruction in a great national highway, acknowledged to be under marine law, and entirely under national control.

But, whilst these heavy burdens have been the subject of continual discontent, the Mississippi Valley, with more than half the population of the whole Union, has also furnished to the treasury of the General Government hundreds of millions of dollars, drawn from this portion of the Union, by the sales of public lands, and in paying, annually, more than half the import duties of the country, in the consumption of foreign goods, all of which, with little exception, has been lavishly expended by the nation, in the support of the army and navy, and in the erection of dry-docks, forts, arsenals, light-houses, and every other species of improvement asked for by the Atlantic States.

(To be continued.)

## Art. XI.—EDITORIAL, BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

### SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL CONVENTION.

We adverted in our last number to this interesting body, which met in Columbia, South Carolina, and was in session several days, at which we had the pleasure of being present. Colonel R. F. W. Allston was made President, and N. B. Cloud, Secretary. We make a condensation of the proceedings as they appear in that invaluable journal, the *Cotton-Planter*, edited by Dr. Cloud, and published at Montgomery, Alabama.

Dr. Bachman and Edwin Ruffin were elected Honorary Members. Dr. Bachman delivered an address upon the Natural Sciences, as connected with agriculture; Colonel A. G. Summer read a paper on Fruit Culture at the South, prepared by J. Van Buren of Georgia; Mr. H. W. Ravenel, an address on Botany and Agriculture; Colonel Isaac Croom, of Alabama, on Clovers and Grasses at the South; Dr. A. A. Lipscomb, of Alabama, on Progress of Southern Mind; Essay from Colonel De Forest, of Mobile, on Native Trees of the South, and Landscape Gardening; Judge McGehee, of Florida, on Black Seed Cotton; Colonel Allston delivered an address on Sea-Coasts and their Management; Judge J. B. O'Neal, on the Treatment of Slaves; J. D. B. De Bow, on Cotton, agriculturally, commercially, and politically; Essay from Dr. W. A. Swasey, of Miss., on Fruit Culture at the South; from A. J. Foreman, on Florida or Spanish Tobacco; Address by Professor Brumby, on Agricultural Chemistry, etc.

The States of Georgia, Alabama, and Virginia were represented, and six agricultural societies in South Carolina.

Colonel Croom introduced the following resolutions, which were elaborately advocated by himself and Colonel Summer, and referred to the Executive Council to take advice of citizens in different States, and report at the next meeting of the Convention:—

*Whereas*, the establishment of a Central Agricultural College, which shall provide the best means of instruction in all the sciences and learning pertaining to agriculture and its kindred arts, is indispensable for accomplishing one of the great purposes of this Association, which is the reformation and improvement of Southern Agriculture: Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That a Southern Central Agricultural College shall be established as early as practicable, subject to the control and direction of this Association, and to be located at such place as may be selected at the next or some subsequent annual meeting of the same

2. *Resolved*, That to aid in accomplishing this great work, the Secretary of our Association be required to receive the subscription of the members and all other persons disposed to contribute, which shall be paid in such proportions, and at such times, as shall be designated by some future annual meeting of the Association.

3. *Resolved*, That the Executive Council of this Association be authorized and required to appoint at their discretion such committees and individuals in the Southern States, to solicit subscriptions for the purpose and on the conditions before specified.

4. *Resolved*, That when the sum of five hundred thousand dollars shall be subscribed, the Association shall, at its first annual meeting thereafter, locate the College, and provide for the collection of the subscription, and the erection of one or more suitable buildings, so far as their means will admit.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the Association should, at its next annual meeting, or so soon thereafter as the amount of subscription shall amount to five hundred thousand dollars, memorialize Congress, and the Legislatures of the Southern States, for the purpose of obtaining their aid in the completion of a work which involves so much of the welfare, not only of the South, but of the entire confederacy.

Colonel A. G. Sumner offered the following resolutions. For ourselves, we shall be most happy to publish any of the papers that may be forwarded to us by the Secretary, and in every other way promote the great ends of this Association.

*Resolved*, That in consideration of the limited means of the Association as yet, and the importance to the industrial interest of the planting States, of the information contained in the several Addresses and Essays already on hand, this Association most respectfully requests the Editors and Publishers of the several Agricultural and Industrial papers of the planting States to engage in their publication, that said information may, at an early day, be laid before the planting community.

*Resolved further*, That the Secretary open a correspondence immediately with said Editors and Publishers, distributing the Addresses and Essays to such as will engage in their publication.

On motion of J. D. B. De Bow, the following resolution was adopted by the Association. —

*Resolved*, That this Association unite in the suggestion of the Virginia Agricultural Association upon the subject of Guano, and that a committee of five be appointed by the President to wait upon the Executive of the United States, to request such action as may be within the sphere of the government, and may be deemed advisable and proper to relieve the planting interest from the present monopoly, which will enlarge the consumption of the article.

The committee appointed to carry out the objects of the above resolution consists of the following gentlemen: —

Prof. J. D. B. De Bow, of Louisiana; Hon. Robert Toombs, of Georgia; Dr. W. C. Daniell, of Georgia; Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia; Gov. H. W. Collier, of Alabama.

On motion of Dr. Daniell, of Georgia, the President of this meeting, the Hon. R. F. W. Allston, was made Chairman of this Committee.

On motion of Dr. Daniell, of Georgia,

*Resolved*, That the next annual meeting of this Association be held with the North Carolina State Fair at Raleigh, in October next.

By the Executive Council—a quorum of whom being present at Columbia—the next Spring or Semi-Annual Meeting was appointed to be holden at Jackson, Miss., to commence the second Monday in May next.

### BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

WE have had upon our table for some time, in pamphlet form, a speech delivered by F. D. CONRAD, Esq., in the Convention of Louisiana, on the question of apportioning the Representation of the State. The ability of the production, added to the interesting and important character of the subject discussed, would warrant us in analyzing and extracting largely from it, but at this moment neither time nor space admit, which we very much regret. Mr. CONRAD argues with boldness and force against the absorption of political power in great cities, and the control they are thus enabled to exercise over the destinies of the State. He has perceived and pointed out more clearly than any one else, the dangers to sound and well-regulated government, which are the inevitable result, and the speech is worthy, on that account, of study and reflection. The theory of our government and its just administration depend upon the conservative influence of the country, whose population is fixed and steady, and homogeneous. It is always safe to leave the balance of power in the agricultural classes, relying that the municipal regulations of cities will prove to be ample for all purposes of development and power. The interests of the cities themselves require this, and there can be no apprehension that they will not be sufficiently objects of pride and favor with the States. It is only when they have demanded a controlling influence that animosities have been



awakened, and the bitterest hostilities between the country and the city. This is altogether unnecessary and unwise.

But we will introduce one extract from Mr. CONRAD's pamphlet, which presents the whole of his argument:—

"The people of the country, by which I mean the whole State, outside of the city, the agricultural portions of the State, the farmers, planters, mechanics and working classes of the country, will never be satisfied with the existing and increasing power of the city in the Legislature of the State; a power which promises to be overwhelming. This power not only consists in her numerical vote in the House, which of itself promises to absorb the absolute voting power of the House; but, sir, added to this, will be the moral power of her representation, acting with the energy that a united will confers on a body, operating against others, distracted by the jealousies of conflicting interests, real or supposed. Add to this the power of the city press, and the unity and immediate action of the city population, on every subject of public interest, and you will find introduced into the Legislature, a moral power from the city which will be overwhelming; and which, if added to the prospective numerical vote of her delegation, will leave no alternative to the country but unresisting submission to the Legislative will of the city, whenever she sees fit to exercise the power. Mr. President, from our knowledge of the human heart—its selfishness, and the workings of its passions, and from the history of mankind—we are taught that exorbitant power, wherever lodged, from the probability of its abuse, is highly dangerous; but when lodged in the hands of the numbers, which act together in the comparatively small space of a large city, the power can be brought so speedily, energetically, and effectively into action, as to be irresistible, if not counteracted by the moral effect of a dense, and intelligent country population, or by some counteracting wheel in the machinery of Government. I think, Mr. President, that the history of the world equally proves that no country has been successfully governed, when the predominating power of the government, has not been placed in the hands of the farmers and planters, and the other working classes of the country portion of the State. This is the numerous, the great the bone and sinew interest of the State. In proof of this proposition, let us resort to the experience of history. Let us recur to some of the features of ancient governments; let us refer to those the most renowned, the most highly civilised—to those which have reached the highest attainments of taste—where literature and the arts of poetry, and eloquence, and some of the principles of good polity, have rendered them immortal—the governments of Athens, and of Rome—of that Rome, which conferred upon the civilized world the inappreciable and inestimable boon of the best legal polity with which it has ever yet been blessed. But will the statesman ever point to the political government of these renowned States as models for imitation? Will his admiration ever be excited by the turbulent, haughty, conquering, tyrannical character of their administration, when it passed the limits of their municipal walls? The legal polity of Rome doubtless blessed an immense empire, throughout its whole extent; but that empire, outside the walls of the renowned city, had no due share in the political power of the State. The influence of the agricultural portion of the State—of the tillers of the soil—was not felt; that main conservative element of good government was wanting. Politically, it was a bad government. Let us, Mr. President, in pursuit of more familiar illustrations, recur to the history of more modern times. Let us take the example of modern France: What a solemn and instructive lesson does it not afford! what might not now have been unfortunate France, politically, but for the political sway for half a century past, of the city of Paris, in every effort at political progress and regeneration made by that great and glorious people! The balance of France—rural, agricultural France—has ever been annihilated. Even when they seemed to possess power, they had it not. Paris either destroyed, or directed as she pleased, their influence in the State. In matters of taste, science, fashion and government, Paris is, and ever has been, France. And what has been the result—what is the present aspect of that agitated and insulted people? Let her present position constitute the answer. Bearing the name of a Republic, she groans under a practical despotism, about, probably, to terminate in an actual and acknowledged one. But it may be inquired, has not London the same sway in England? I answer, no; and for the reason, that the political power of England, unlike what exists in France, is lodged in agricultural hands; and this has been achieved by the legislative power of the House of Lords, who are all agriculturists—by the constitution of the House of Commons itself, a majority of whom are agriculturists—by the law of primogeniture, which only applies to landed property, and by the difficulties thrown by the laws of that country, around the alienation of landed property. The agriculturists of England, through the operation of these causes, possess the predominating legislative power of the State. But, Mr. President, let us descend from these distant and rather lofty citations, and look for our examples to the operation of causes in the history of States governed by systems, more congenial to our taste, and our political philosophy; albeit, our statesmen have never been ashamed to recognize a good principle, even if found in the polity of Monarchical England. But, sir, I prefer, where the same principle can be found, to cite it in the successful history of a Republic. I prefer beholding its operation in the march of the great Model Modern Republic. It brings one nearer home to the practical operation of the principle, in States entirely analogous to our own. I refer to the States constituting our own beloved country.

"In every State in this Union, except the State of Louisiana, the legislative power of the State rests permanently and securely in the hands of the planters, and farmers, and working classes, of the country portion of the State? I ask if there exists a State north of the Potomac whose legislative and political power is not lodged in the hands of the agriculturists—in the yeomanry of the country. I will cite the States where, on account of their large cities, there may exist the most doubt about the truth of the allegation. What is, or ever can be, the power of the representation of the city of Boston in the Legislature of Massachusetts, compared to that which represents the agriculturists of that State? And may not the same be said of the city of New-York, relatively, to the country portion of the great State of New-York; of Philadelphia, relatively, to the whole State of Pennsylvania? The dense voting agricultural population of these great States effectively checking the otherwise exorbitant legislative power of their large cities

"Well, Mr. President, let us repair to the States south of the Potomac—the slaveholding States, and what do we behold here? Is there any danger in this respect, except for the peculiar State of Louisiana? The large cities in the Southern States, with the exception of New-Orleans, even with every prospect of increase, are scarcely of populous dimensions sufficient to excite apprehension in this respect. What has the large white, voting, agricultural population of the State of Virginia to fear from the present or prospective influence of the city of Richmond? or that of Carolina from Charleston, or Kentucky from Louisville, or Alabama from Mobile? To look at the census of the white population of Maryland, one would have supposed that Maryland need have no fear on this point. But the agricultural people of Maryland did not so think. They, entertaining a lively fear on this subject, against the city of Baltimore, took (as I am just advised by one of my colleagues) care to provide against the apprehended evil, by ample provision in their Constitution—not, Mr. President, by the principle of total population, but by one, deemed by my city friends far more objectionable—by the expedient of absolute restriction.

"Now, Mr. President, let us look upon the position of our own State. Let gentlemen cast their eyes upon the census of our population. Look at the relative population of the city and the country portion of the State. Do they not, in the contemplation, find cause for the liveliest apprehension? Do they not perceive that at the next apportionment, New-Orleans will, under the existing basis, have probably thirty-five members out of ninety-eight of the House of Representatives; and that in fifteen years she may have fifty—thus absorbing the whole numerical power of the House of Representatives? Then, Mr. President, let them reflect that the Crescent City is not only the commercial capital of Louisiana, but the commercial emporium of a dozen other States—many of them non-slaveholding States. If not yet satisfied, let them carry their contemplation still further, and behold the great future—the prospective grandeur of this favored city. Her singular and unparalleled position in the world—in the present condition of that world—central to the whole commerce of the globe, as borne on the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific—as proceeding from Europe, or from Asia—and from Labrador on the broad North, to Terra del Fuego in the two Americas. Are gentlemen not alarmed at this aggrandizement of the city in monetary, commercial, and moral strength, at this wonderfully situated commercial capital? Think they not, that from this unparalleled array of power which awaits the city, that politically New-Orleans will be Louisiana—Louisiana, governing and controlling, as she pleases the destinies of the State?"

*Poems of Dryden.* 5 vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Edited by F. J. Child, of Harvard College. These are others of the series of the British Poets, now in course of publication by this enterprising house. We have already mentioned the issues of Butler, Collins, Cowper, Goldsmith, Gray, Milton, Parnell, Prior, Thomson. The edition embraces all that is of general interest and permanent value in English Poetry, from Chaucer to Wordsworth. The whole works of the most distinguished authors will be given, and selections from the writings of the minor poets. Several volumes of fugitive and anonymous poetry will be added, besides what may be taken from the publications of Ritson, Percy, Ellis, Brydges, Park, &c., of the Percy Society, and other Printing Clubs. Particular care will be bestowed on Chaucer, and on the English and Scotch Ballad Poetry. Pains will be taken to secure a correct text, and each work will be accompanied with biographical, historical, and critical notices, and with glossaries, where such assistance is needed. An edition conducted on these principles will, it is thought, deserve to be called, in all essential respects, a complete collection of the English Poets.

*Essays on Philosophical Writers and other Men of Letters*, by Thomas De Quincey; in 2 vols. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1854. The volumes, which are neat duodecimo, embrace sketches of Sir William Hamilton, Sir James McIntosh, Kant, Herder, Paul Richter, Lessing, Bentley, Dr. Parr. All of the writings of De Quincey have high position with scholars. We may mention, "Confessions of an Opium Eater," "Biographical Essays," "The Cæsars," "Literary Reminiscences," "Miscellaneous Papers," "Essays on the Poets," "Critical Essays," etc.

*Outlines of a Mechanical Theory of Storms*; containing the true law of Lunar Influence, with Practical Directions to the Navigator in regard to Weather, etc., by F. Bassett. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854. The author says, "Step by step" he "became confirmed in his doubts of the soundness of many modern theories." The work is a very bold movement in the direction of philosophical skepticism, and is both ably and ingeniously executed. We commend it to the attention of the scientific and the curious.

*Light on the Dark River*; or, Memorials of Mrs. Henrietta A. L. Hamlin, Missionary in Turkey, by Margarette W. Lawrence. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1854.

*Art of Prolonging Life*, by Hufeland, edited by Erasmus Wilson. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1854. The work was originally published in German, and translated into English in 1797. It was the employment of eight years of the

leisure hours of the erudite Hufeland. We have read it with great interest and instruction.

*Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, by Francis Lieber, LL.D. We have before noticed at length these valuable volumes, the contribution of one of the most learned men and accomplished scholars in the country. It is hardly necessary for us to repeat our commendation of Dr. Lieber's labors, nor to urge them upon the attention of the reading public. The present work deserves, and will receive, a wide circulation.

*Hops and Mishaps; or, a Tour in Europe*. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Field. Handsomely bound and issued, by Grace Greenwood. The literary reputation of the author stands high with a great many persons, and she seems in some measure to be a popular favorite at the North. Her book embraces the usual incidents of European travel from London to Rome, etc. It is very readable and interesting.

*Historical Collections of Georgia*. New-York: Pudney & Russell, 1854. The author, Rev. George White, is well known for his valuable work upon the Statistics of Georgia, and he is, indeed, a most laborious and indefatigable student in all of the musty records and documents of his State, as well as a pains-taking collector of facts, traditions, anecdotes, etc., relating to the history or antiquities of Georgia. The volume is embellished by one hundred engravings of buildings, relics of antiquity, historic localities, natural scenery, portraits of distinguished men, etc. The publishers, Pudney & Russell, have spared no pains in making the work a specimen of very high art.

*Index to Periodical Literature*, by W. J. Foote, A.M., Librarian of the Boston Mercantile Library Association. New-York: Charles B. Norton. The volume has been noticed in our late numbers. It is very complete for nearly all of the American and foreign periodicals, not only indexing the articles, but, as far as possible, giving the names of the authors. Every library should contain a copy.

*New-Orleans Medical Journal*. The January number of this journal comes to us with the usual editorial title of Dr. Hester. Alas! the hand which prepared a part of this number was cold in death before the work had half progressed, and the completion devolved upon a friend and co-laborer, Dr. E. D. Fenner. Poor Hester! We saw him a few months ago, buoyant in health and spirits, and with a fair and tender bride upon his arm. We had known him and loved him long. Our mutual editorial labors strengthened the bonds of sympathy and interest between us. Our Journals at New-Orleans were encountering, at the same time, the same difficulties and discouragements, and passing the same trying ordeals. Labor and perseverance had crowned us both with a measure of success. The link is broken. The kindly heart of our friend is stilled in death. His toil is ended ere its results could be enjoyed! Sad lesson this. The sands are running out for us all—too fast—too fast!

In his touching and noble biographical sketch, Dr. Fenner pays a deserved tribute to the merits of the deceased, and to that friendship which has subsisted for many years between them. Together had they established, long ago, the very journal in which the biography appears. Worthy successor to its charge will be our friend Fenner. We make a brief extract from the memoir:

"Our own acquaintance with the deceased does not extend so far back; but we may say, that for the last twelve years he has been our intimate friend and companion. We have struggled together in adversity, and enjoyed together such pleasures as we were able to find among the rugged walks of life. We have worked together in the great cause of medical science and literature, which enchain'd alike our ambition and our energies, and we both had the gratification to see our efforts crowned with some degree of success. Now he comes to an untimely end—snatched away at the meridian of life, and in the full development of his fine mental powers. By the force of his talents and indomitable energy, unaided by wealthy friends his proud spirit scorned to court, he made himself one of the first physicians of New-Orleans."

## CINCINNATI.

We had the pleasure, in February, of visiting Cincinnati for a few days, and were struck, as every stranger must be, with the marvellous energy and progress which it is displaying. Already the population is estimated at 150,000 or 160,000, against 45,000 in 1840, and 115,000 in 1850. We visited, among other places, the halls of the Mercantile Association, with its splendid library and its admirable reading-room. This institution is doing brave things for the development of Western culture, and the improvement of the mercantile classes. An annual series of lectures is provided for. We congratulate the Society upon its progress.

Among the useful citizens of Cincinnati whose acquaintance we had the satisfaction of making, was Nicholas Longworth. We inspected his magnificent wine cellars and buildings, and tested the virtues of some of their contents. We have before given many of the results of the labors of Mr. Longworth in our Review, but cannot forbear a few more particulars, for which we are indebted to a letter-writer:—

The Ohio river is termed the "Rhine of America," and has gained this appellation through the instrumentality of Mr. Nicholas Longworth, the pioneer in this branch of horticulture in the United States. He has now 150 acres of vineyard under cultivation, and owns three wine cellars, where wines are stored for fermentation and prepared for market, one of which contains 140,000 bottles. Dr. L. is seventy years of age, but is as vigorous, and performs as much labor, as many in the prime of manhood. He has accumulated an immense property, his taxes the last year having amounted to \$17,000, and which are said to be larger than are assessed upon any other man in the country, William B. Astor, and perhaps one or two others, excepted. He has long been a patron of the fine arts, and the parlors of his residence are enriched with rare collections both from nature and art. Included in the latter is an exquisite bust in marble, the first of Powers' productions. Mr. L. early discovered the genius of Powers, and lent his aid in its development: Of late years his attention has been chiefly absorbed by the grape culture. For thirty years he experimented with foreign grapes, with a view to their acclimation in the United States. Six thousand vines of the best Madeira wine grapes, and seven thousand from the mountains of Jura, in France, besides others from the vicinity of Paris and Bordeaux, were procured, but were all thrown away after a protracted trial, being found inferior to the Catawba, a native of North Carolina. Near two hundred varieties of grape have been tested, but the two best are found to be the Catawba and the Herbemont, which makes a wine similar to the Spanish Manzanilla, and which is to be more extensively cultivated than heretofore.

---

#### COMMERCIAL CONVENTION OF THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES.

This Convention will be held at Charleston, S. C., on the second Monday in April next, and will consist of large and able delegations from most of the States included in its action. The Committee at Charleston have already issued circular letters, and great pains will be taken to secure such attendance as will be most efficient in promoting the objects of the Convention. The citizens of Charleston well know how to task their hospitalities upon an occasion like this—and such hospitalities! We hope that thousands of Southern and Western citizens will be attracted to the metropolis of the Palmetto State. April is a delightful month in Charleston. We bespeak much enjoyment for all.

---

#### NOTE.

In our next number we shall publish some notes upon the subject of the Yellow Fever in New-Orleans, prepared by Dr. McFarlane, in vindication of his theory, which has been so much canvassed. The Doctor is an old and estimable physician of New-Orleans, and we need not say that it gave us great pain that a contributor in the Review, whose article we had not closely read before its publication, should have indulged a seeming and undeserved personality in regard to him. The writer himself now regrets it as much as we do.